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KARPOV INTERVIEWED ON ARMS TALKS; SHULTZ VISIT, SDI

DW140651 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 13 Apr 87 pp 142-147

[Interview with Soviet disarmament expert Viktor Karpov by correspondents Siegesmund von Ilsemann and Joerg R. Mettke in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] SPIEGEL: Mr Ambassador: Do you think there will be an agreement on the withdrawal of all intermediate-range weapons from Europe this year?

Karpov: Yes, that is possible if both sides show their good will, if both sides proceed from the Reykjavik summit results, and if neither side erects obstacles along that path.

SPIEGEL: That does not really sound enthusiastic. In recent weeks you sharply criticized the U.S. position at the Geneva talks. Was that a negotiating tactic, or do you really take a dim view of things?

Karpov: I proceed from the state of the negotiations, and I certainly do not overrate the U.S. position. Of course, I see obstacles that still remain. If we do not remove them, then prospects for the negotiations are really clouded. For that reason there are many "ifs" to my answer. If they are all taken into account, then we will indeed reach an agreement. But if even one single "if" remains open, then there will not be a positive result. As far as we are concerned, we have positive answers to all those "ifs", and we would be glad if that were also the case with our negotiating partners.

SPIEGEL: But the Americans still appear to you as brakemen?

Karpov: The Geneva negotiations on nuclear and space weapons have been in session for more than 2 years — since March 1985 — without there having been any definite result so far. The talks are going in circles. The Soviet Reykjavik initiative has — as never before — revealed all the dead-ends of the negotiations, for which, to put it frankly, it is not we who are to blame.

SPIEGEL: The Americans also believe they are not guilty.

Karpov: But those courageous decisions that Mikhail Gorbachev brought into the game might really become an Archimedes screw. Turning the earth around nowadays means halting the arms race, eliminating nuclear weapons, building a comprehensive security system for a world without violence and war. Unfortunately the United States is not pursuing that path. It is trying to creep back from the main road into the dead-ends where we were before Reykjavik.

SPIEGEL: Yet the zero-option was an American proposal.

Karpov: There is reason to doubt the sincerity of the zero-option that was proposed in 1981. The Irish writer Oscar Wilde, known as a master of paradox, remarked sharply: "When the gods want to punish us, they answer our prayers." The United States is dealing with our proposal to eliminate the Soviet and U.S. intermediate-range weapons in Europe in much the same way.

SPIEGEL: Will the espionage fuss over the U.S. Embassy in Moscow complicate the talks with Secretary of State George Shultz?

Karpov: As to the espionage affair, you have to look at it with a sense of humor. If some Marines could not resist the charms of Russian girls, well then, they were not very steadfast, despite their discipline. But it has been found that not just Russian girls were involved -- they even tried to rape an English woman. That is really a joke.

SPIEGEL: But Ronald Reagan announced that Secretary of State Shultz would discuss primarily that subject during his Moscow visit.

Karpov: If Mr Shultz comes to us without constructive concepts, and if he thinks the Marines should be the main topic of his talks, then he cannot expect meaningful results. The U.S. side should not focus on the safety of Marines who could not defend themselves, let alone their embassy. Security on a broader scope must be the topic -- the nuclear arms race, to avoid space weapons, and so on. If Secretary of State Shultz comes to us in order to resolve those issues, then we are prepared to do it. If he just wants to raise artificial issues, then there will be no serious talk.

SPIEGEL: Shultz has already suggested that he hopes the Soviet side mades even further concessions. Do you have anything else to offer him?

Karpov: What kind of concessions should that be? To make concessions would require positive acts by the United States. Where do you see such positive acts? It is we who expect concessions. We expect Mr Shultz to come to Moscow with positive answers to our initiatives, primarily to our proposal to work out immediately an agreement on the elimination of U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range missiles in Europe. We really are prepared to discuss all the other problems with him, problems of nuclear and space weapons -- in the spirit that those questions have already been treated in Reykjavik. If Mr Shultz is prepared to continue the path that was taken in Reykjavik -- and not go back on that path -- then he can expect us to make concessions.

SPIEGEL: That flexibility you are hoping for -- do you see any signs of it on the U.S. side?

Karpov: Not yet.

SPIEGEL: Suppose you really might agree upon the so-called zero-option. Can one really effectively control it at all?

Karpov: Oh yes, It is possible. We are prepared to accept controls that will not give rise to any doubts, on the U.S. side or on ours, that the other side might not entirely comply with the agreements. We are prepared and agree that all missile bases -- Pershing-2 and cruise missiles, as well as SS-20's -- be completely open to inspection. We are prepared for on-site inspections, so that we will have the opportunity for supervision on the territories of the FRG, England, the Netherlands, Belguim, Italy -- everywhere there are U.S. missiles. Any possibility of concealing such weapons on those U.S. missile bases and bypassing the agreements must be eliminated.

SPIEGEL: That will have to apply to your missile bases, too.

Karpov: We are interested in total supervision by all parties involved. The destruction of such weapons must also be strictly supervised. We not only support the destruction of the missiles and their launching sites, but further, we support the elimination of the infrastructure, the bases, in order to make it impossible to launch missiles from them ever again. All that applies, of course, to our own bases as well.

SPIEGEL: How does one prevent intermediate-range weapons from being built secretly?

Karpov: The production of intermediate-range weapons, too, should be strictly controlled. American companies like Martin Marietta that are producing such weapons should keep their doors open to our inspectors. We promise to open such plants to the Americans in our country. However, we have little hope that the Americans will agree to that. Much of the U.S. position indicates that they would like to bypass such a strict control system. Well, we shall see.

SPIEGEL: Would control not be much easier if all of the intermediate-range weapons were eliminated instead of maintaining a certain number in Sibera or in North America?

Karpov: What would it change? Those missiles with 100 warheads that we maintain in Asia, and the Americans in their country, are capable of being controlled. There will be no problems at all from those few missiles.

SPIEGEL: For what purpose does one need those 100 warheads at all?

Karpov: Our intermediate-range missiles based in Europe are the counterpart to U.S. missiles based there. Our intermediate-range missiles remaining in Asia are supposed to balance those nuclear forces that the United States maintains in that area.

SPIEGEL: Which U.S. nuclear weapons do you mean?

Karpov: In Asia there is an extensive network of U.S. nuclear weapons bases. For example Misawa, Japan is now a base for U.S. F-16 fighter-bombers. In South Korea, Washington has deployed "Lance" missiles. We cannot do without all the SS-20's based in Asia, because this is possibly just the beginning of U.S. nuclear armament in Asia, which might soon be escalated with longer-range nuclear weapons.

SPIEGEL: An international ban on all intermediate-range missiles would neutralize that danger.

Karpov: If you mean just missiles, then I am not convinced, because the U.S. is not only rearming with missiles, but primarily with combat aircraft that increasingly have the capability of carrying nuclear weapons. Although we have urged it for many years, Washington is not prepared to negotiate with us on air defense below the level of the strategic bomber.

SPIEGEL: The Soviet Union for years has rejected on-site inspections and considered them espionage attempts by the West. Is your preparedness for comprehensive controls the result of that "new thinking" that General Secretary Gorbachev is requiring domestically and toward the outside?

Karpov: In former times conservative views about control and openness prevailed in our country. We want to break away from it now. Today we are facing very definite disarmament steps, and we need definite control procedures -- real disarmament requires real control. That is our conviction.

SPIEGEL: Under Gorbachev, your government has made many concessions that would have been inconceivable under his predecessors. Now it even seems as if you are putting aside the main goal -- preventing SDI. [paragraph continues]

Is the thesis of American hawks then correct that one only needs to put a good deal of pressure on the Soviets for them finally to give in?

Karpov: It is good when we make concessions to common sense. America's hawks should do the same, too. Of course, we are not waiving our proposals to prevent the arms race in space. Without solving the SDI problem, without strictly adhering to the ABM Treaty -- we are sticking to our position on that -- there will be no reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

SPIEGEL: But Gorbachev has separated the intermediate-range issue from SDI.

Karpov: In doing so, we gave in to the strong desire of Western politicians and statesmen, as well as the Western public, to untie that Reykjavik package. In Reykjavik, the intermediate-range missiles were not connected directly to the space weapons issue.

SPIEGEL: However during the summit, and even after it, your government required a complex solution.

Karpov: In Reykjavik we wanted a fundamental breakthrough in solving problems in three areas: space, strategic offensive weapons, and intermediate-range missiles. In the last 6 months, however, we found that approach to be unrealistic. Now we want to cut back on our own expectations and achieve a breakthrough in one area first -- in intermediate-range missiles. There were assertions in the West that if we removed the intermediate-range missiles from the overall package, then an agreement might quickly be reached. Now that we have done it, new obstacles are being erected.

SPIEGEL: Which ones?

Karpov: Obstacles that did not exist before. For example, the U.S. plans to modify the Pershing-2 to a Pershing-1B with a shorter range, or not to scrap cruise missiles, but modify them to have conventional warheads, or even put them to sea.

SPIEGEL: What can the Soviet Union do about that?

Karpov: Suppose we granted the United States the right to modify their Pershing-2? Today's infrastructure would in fact remain and those systems might very simply be remodified to nuclear intermediate-range weapons. Let us go on supposing we would pose the issue of maintaining our SS-20's in Europe. We might modify them to ballistic missiles. That would not affect European security, because the missiles might then be used for a counterattack against the United States, but that would just be a phony solution, which we will not agree to.

SPIEGEL: Supervision might prevent modified intermediate-range missiles from being reconverted.

Karpov: Of course we might establish that each single weapon of that kind be watched by one Soviet soldier who, for example, constantly checks to see whether a cruise missile is equipped with a nuclear warhead or not. We will be happy to send a regiment of our troops to the United States for that purpose. But, to be serious, the reduction of one weapons category by converting it into another cannot be a solution. The only thing that elimination can mean is complete removal, including the whole infrastructure, the sites, and the support facilities.

SPIEGEL: But there are qualms about that in Western Europe, too.

Karpov: I read that political circles in the FRG are currently discussing the topic and have split opinions about it. Some are of the opinion that they must support the United States and continue to have U.S. missiles on the European continent, if under a different name. Others advocate scrapping all U.S. and Soviet intermediate-range weapons in Europe.

In the past, the NATO two-track decision was justified by maintaining that the Soviet-SS-20's represented a threat to Europe's security, and that consequently, a balance should be struck or the missiles eliminated. Now that the Soviet Union is prepared to abolish its SS-20 missiles, suddenly a counterweight to Soviet tactical missiles is demanded. They were definitely not discussed when the so-called NATO two-track decision was accepted.

SPIEGEL: Do you think NATO's position that Moscow's preponderance in nuclear weapons with ranges between 500 and 1,000 km must somehow be balanced is entirely out of line?

Karpov: Let us proceed from NATO's figures, according to which we have 130 to 150 missiles with such a range in Europe. The Bundeswehr has 72 Pershing-1 missiles. That is not a gigantic difference. Nevertheless, we are prepared to rectify that imbalance, but by disarmament, not rearmament. We indeed offered the Americans a zero-option for those tactical missiles.

SPIEGEL: With the same opportunities of verification as in the case of the longer range intermediate-range missiles?

Karpov: Yes, exactly.

SPIEGEL: The Antiballistic Missile Treaty (ABM) of 1972, currently the only legally valid weapons control agreement between Moscow and Washington, has meanwhile been interpreted "broadly" by the United States. You regard that as inadmissible.

Karpov: The so-called extended interpretation of the treaty owes its origin to the SDI program. Until October 1985, the USSR and the United States were in agreement about what the ABM Treaty meant. It is not a question of some "narrow" interpretation opposing a "broad" one. The point is that the Soviet Union proceeds exclusively from the treaty's contents, from its text, from the agreed-upon declarations, and from the general understanding. All things together are indispensable components of the treaty.

SPIEGEL: What exactly does the ABM Treaty prohibit? What does it permit?

Karpov: The ABM Treaty unequivocally prohibits the development, testing, and especially the creation of a strategic defense the way the U.S. Government intend's to do. That does not mean that research in the field of antimissile systems or their components would be inadmissible. Such research, such developments are possible within the framework provided by the treaty -- exclusively in order to deploy land-based antimissile weapons in that one area that is permitted to the United States by the ABM treaty.

SPIEGEL: Consequently, no research at all on space weapons?

Karpov: Deploying, developing, and testing antimissile systems or their components in space is inadmissible. Paragraph 5 of the ABM Treaty expressly prohibits it.

SPIEGEL: Washington criticizes you for working on space weapons yourselves. Did your experts possibly establish that they might benefit militarily from it?

Karpov: Our experts believe that there cannot be any antimissile defense shield that is impermeable. That opinion corresponds to the state of the scientific art East and West. We can invalidate militarily any conceivable antimissile defense system with but a small portion of the expense. The United States invests in space weaponry. Even a defense shield with 90 percent effectiveness would let pass 1,000 Soviet warheads out of 10,000 -- and that would be the end of the United States. Of course, the same would be true of a Soviet defense system.

SPIEGEL: Why then the fear of SDI?

Karpov: We are against the arms race in space because it makes the world shakier: Imagine what would happen if that system of maybe several thousand satellites, equipped with weapons that may not just be directed against space targets, but against targets on earth, has a malfunction. Such a system must react within seconds -- the moment the order has been given. That can only be done by computer, but computers that must conduct many millions of calculations in a second cannot work without making errors. It takes just one incorrectly interpreted signal, just one incorrectly programmed order. On the basis of such a wrong order World War III could be triggered without any one person being able to prevent it.

SPIEGEL: Are you unwilling to prepare for such a computer war?

Karpov: After having carefully considered the pros and cons, we decided not to copy the American SDI program. We cannot see any sense in it. If the United States still harbours the hope of getting us involved in that competition, thus making us spend billions and billions [no currency mentioned] then they are wrong. We will not do that.

SPIEGEL: There may be other reasons for rejecting SDI. Byproducts of space weapons -- highly developed sensors, high-precision miniature projectiles, or laser weapons -- might revolutionize conventional weaponry, too.

Karpov: We are concerned that there is constant research on newer methods to destroy people. To avoid it, we are trying hard to spare space from the weapons race. You talk about byproducts of the SDI program. Laser research is nothing new. We also have it. But that by no means implies that such research must lead to space weaponry. We have plants where lasers are already substituting for conventional drills.

SPIEGEL: How will you ensure the exclusively peaceful use of that research?

Karpov: In the middle of March we proposed at the Geneva disarmament conference an international system to ensure the exclusively peaceful use of space.

SPIEGEL: How would it work?

Karpov: We suggested that all countries could control what is being sent into space. If some country had doubts about the peaceful character of a missile or a spaceship, an international inspection would take place. We are prepared to open our launching pads, such as Baikonur, to such inspections.

SPIEGEL: Why does Moscow not give a practical signal through additional confidence-building measures, which would certainly impress the West more than the steady stream of new, voluminous disarmament proposals?

Karpov: Since 1 January this year confidence-building measures have been in force that were decided upon and approved by the 1986 CDE conference in Stockholm. The Soviet Union and other Warsaw Pact countries fully adhere to the agreements. Even more so, the USSR announced a maneuver from 2 to 6 February 1987, it invited foreign observers, although it was not compelled to do so as the agreed 42-day limit since the treaty's coming into effect had not expired.

However -- The United States -- which had generally adhered to the Stockholm agreement to date -- could also give some sign, but it did not inform us about a staff framework exercise held on FRG territory in January and February with 23,000 troops. As to the nuclear test issue, we also fail to detect U.S. confidence-building reactions. The year and a half Soviet test moratorium has incontestably demonstrated to the whole world how nuclear tests can not only be discontinued, but how they can be ended in a controllable way.

SPIEGEL: The United States maintains that nuclear tests are necessary as long as there are nuclear weapons.

Karpov: We are convinced that renunciation of nuclear tests is already possible. It would be important from the standpoint of environmental protection, but also because the further development of nuclear weapons would at least be slowed down. However, we have found that the other nuclear powers are not prepared for such a radical solution, so now we are flexible there too. We are prepared to discontinue the testing of nuclear weapons step by step.

SPIEGEL: The United States wants to ratify the underground nuclear test treaties of 1974 and 1976 if a new control system were decided upon.

Karpov: The Soviet Union is for comprehensive controls in that field also, so as to rule out any violation of a future agreement on a test ban.

SPIEGEL: What would you say to a Western European who believes that after the elimination of all nuclear weapons he would have more to fear from the Soviet Union conventional superiority.

Karpov: Let us assume that all nuclear weapons were eliminated. There would still be billions of people with bayonets, pistols, or clubs. We need a security system that completely rules out violence in society. We are prepared to eliminate not only nuclear weapons in Europe, but also other means of warfare. We want to begin with the most dangerous weapon systems so that no offensive war can be waged any more. We suggested that in the 1986 Budapest appeal.

SPIEGEL: What do your generals say to your proposal to deprive them of more and more weapons?

Karpov: Our military representatives thought it over and said if a system were created guaranteeing our security without heaps of weaponry, we would agree. It is important to create conditions permitting people to live together without weaponry.

SPIEGEL: Particularly because the arms race has become very expensive -- especially for a country like the Soviet Union, which has set very high economic goals for itself.

Karpov: It is not just military expenditures that are involved, but the fact that a part of the populace is working most unproductively for the military apparatus. That is a waste of material and human resources. We want the military to be reduced to a minimum -- down to merely a police or militia. We propose to achieve that goal gradually. Disarmament is an ideal of socialism. It is not propaganda. It is the expression of our wish not to spend our money for military purposes, but for the benefit of our people.

SPIEGEL: Gorbachev's ambitious economic program does not go hand-in-hand with a stepped-up arms race. Does it not confirm the American thesis that one can arm the Soviet Union to death?

Karpov: It has been tried, in World War II, for example, and yet we won. It was tried again after the war, and yet we have built our society. Now we have set new tasks for ourselves, and again it is said, maybe it will be possible to arm the Soviet Union to death. However, it will not work this time either, just as it has not worked for 70 years. We have vast potential that has not been tapped; freeing it is the goal of our restructuring. With that restructuring it will be possible for us to overcome all the obstacles on the path to developing our society and our economy.

SPIEGEL: What if you had to continue arming?

Karpov: Naturally, a continued arms race would hinder our development. However, we would to it anyway.

SPIEGEL: What must actually happen for Mikhail Gorbachev to be able to continue his socialist disarmament policy, as you have outlined it, with a summit meeting in Washington?

Karpov: Not much must happen. We must keep our eye on the crane in the sky, but keep the sparrow in hand, that is, we must continue striving toward our goal -- the elimination of all nuclear weapons -- and at the same time accept partial success. Comrade Gorbachev has frequently said that we must continue talking with President Reagan. For a successful meeting in Washington we need the opportunity to achieve success on one, two, or three important security policy issues. If the Americans are prepared to find a solution to essential security policy issues together with us, such a summit can still be achieved this year.

SPIEGEL: Mr Ambassador, we thank you for this talk.

BOGACHEV ON U.S. MOVING AWAY FROM REYKJAVIK STANCE

LD141542 Moscow TASS in English 1351 GMT 14 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow April 14 TASS -- TASS writer on military matters Vladimir Bogachev writes:

To judge by American press reprts, President Ronald Reagan continues moving away from the accords reached in Reykjavik. This is evidenced by the instructions prepared for Secretary of State George Shultz now holding talks in Moscow.

The new revision of the Reykjavik accords is seen by observers as a victory for the Pentagon's Caspar Weinberger and as a toughening of the administration's approaches to the entire spectrum of arms control issues.

The point at issue is the intention of the U.S. Administration to reduce the time limits for the observance of the 1972 treaty from 10 years -- as was agreed upon in Reykjavik -- to 5 years, prolongation of the period of fifty percent reduction in strategic arms from five to seven years, revision of accords on medium-range missiles in order to raise new obstacles on the way to achieving an appropriate Soviet-American agreement.

At a briefing for journalists in Santa Barbara (California state) Howard Baker, head of White House staff, admitted that the Reykjavik accords widely differ from the instructions received by Secretary of State George Shutlz for his talks in Moscow.

Assistant to the U.S. President for national security affair Frank Carlucci assured journalists in his extremely muddled statement, contrary to commonly known facts, that in Reykjavik the Soviet side allegedly did not like the proposal for reducing strategic missiles to a zero and that therefore, he said, Shultz's discussions in Moscow would not be focussed on observance of the treaty on the limitation of anti-missile systems in the course of ten years.

Carlucci's assertion sounded strange, to say the least, and was evidently intended for ill-informed people. Indeed, it was the Soviet Union that came up on January 15, 1986, with an initiative for complete liquidation of all nuclear arms, including strategic ones, by the end of this century, and it consistently adheres to this position at all talks.

Officials of the U.S. Administration now put forward proposals not for reducing and eliminating theatre missiles in Europe but for further incrasing the American potential of these nuclear systems. In Washington they voice "arguments" also against measures to ensure reliable verification of the observance of the agreement on medium-range missiles.

Carlucci, Baker and other representatives of Washington are assuring the public, with suspicious zeal, that the instructions given to Secretary of State Shultz for his talks in Moscow were worked out in the administration almost unanimously and that President Reagan is interested in achieving agreement on arms control. But facts testify to the contrary.

Representatives of the Reagan administration are again showing an acute shortage of common sense in their approaches to the working out of mutually acceptable solutions. The United States' new deep departure from the Reykjavik accords casts doubt on Washingtonton's reputation as a negotiating partners.

It is now necessary more than ever before that the Reagan administration should display, at long last, goodwill in matters of arms limitation and reduction and demonstrate not in words but in deeds its readiness to move the talks on nuclear and space arms off dead centre.

PRESIDENT REAGAN MARKS 4TH ANNIVERSARY OF SDI

LD241013 Moscow TASS in English 0834 GMT 24 Mar 87

[Text] Washington March 24 TASS -- TASS correspondent Igor Borisenko reports:

President Reagan marked the 4th anniversary of his unveiling of the "Star Wars" program by issuing a special statement to heap praise on the project.

He lauded "remarkable progress" made toward the aim of the effort, which is officially called "Strategic Defense Initiative" (SDI), and claimed that it "truly serves the purposes of offensive weapons reduction" and "can help us move toward a safer world."

The President also asserted that "SDI capabilities will never be used for offensive purposes".

Four years ago Reagan declared just as forcefully that the proposed missile defense would be "non-nuclear". The SDI advocates today prefer not to remember that. Neither did the President say one word about that in his statement.

This is only understandable: Along with other kinds of space weaponry, U.S. laboratories are busy developing X-ray lasers powered by nuclear explosions.

It followed from a recent statement by Energy Secretary John Herrington in Congress that his department, which engages in nuclear weapons manufacture, alone would increase appropriations for SDI-related efforts to 481 million dollars in the next fiscal year from 349 million this year.

Millions of dollars have also been allocated for devising nuclear reactors which could be deployed in orbit.

The President's statement was meant not just as a way of marking the 4th anniversary of the SDI proposal. A White House spokesman said the broader aim had been to stress his commitment to the program once again.

The praises of SDI are being sung not only in the White House. The extreme right-wingers' thinktank, the Heritage Foundation, is also a loud member of the chorus.

In a special report timed for the 4th anniversary of the "Star Wars" program, it has urged a phased deployment of a missile defense starting from the mid-90's.

The report said it would probably take five to seven years to deploy both land-based and space-based components of an SDI system.

The authors of the report are not at all embarrassed by the deployment of a partially space-based missile defense being a direct violation of the ABM treaty.

They suggest either scrapping the treaty altogether or "supplementing" it so as to emasculate this document which is the last impediment to outer space militarization.

SDI proponents stint no effort to make their compatriots believe that it is "essential" and even "inevitable" that space arms be developed.

Calls for pressing on with the "Star Wars" program in spite of everything have been made at a news conference held by rightist organizations on Capital Hill.

Speakers there said bluntly their goal was to make certain that the first components of a multitier SDI system with space-based elements be in place as early as 1995.

KOLESNICHENKO NOTES SDI'S 'SAD JUBILEE'

PM241649 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Mar 87 First Edition p 5

[Tomas Kolesnichenko "Commentator's Column": "A Sad Jubilee"]

[Text] The starry sky... For thousands of years people have gazed at the mysterious motions of the distant planets, trying to find answers to the innumerable questions about their earthly existence. The time came for mankind to venture into space. Reason had triumphed, it appeared. But not everywhere...

On 23 March 1983, U.S. President R. Reagan put forward the now notorious "Strategic Defense Initiative" which was immediately christened the "Star Wars" program by the U.S. press. As the 4 years since that day have shown, SDI fully deserves that name. What was at first glance a harmless presidential "dream" -- creating an "impenetrable shield" against ballistic missiles, "destroying weapons, not people," and so forth -- turned out in practice to be the most dangerous military program in human history, a program for the militarization of space, for transforming it into a boundless arena for the arms race, which ultimately means a worldwide nuclear catastrophe.

Enough has been said and written about SDI over the 4 years to fill entire volumes. Let us look at a few of the main conclusions characterizing this supreme madness of our age. First and foremost, SDI is a chimera. An "impenetrable" shield cannot be created, 15-20 percent of the target area will always be hit by missiles, not to mention the fact that an asymmetrical response by the other side could turn the "shield" into a complete illusion. Something else is clear too -- an extensive ABM system with space-based elements cannot be seen as purely defensive but represents a new type of weapon primarily intended to conceal a preemptive first strike.

If anyone doubts the purpose of the seven-tier system which the Pentagon intends to "suspend" above us, then here is what General Abrahamson, leader of the "Star Wars" program, said in connection with the SDI "jubilee." "In 1994 or 1995," he said, "the United States could deploy the first tier of SDI, which envisages placing "between 300 and 400 satellites equipped with strike missiles in a low orbit above the territory of the Soviet Union." And this is called "defense"? An another question: Who is actually going to authorize Washington to install space "pillboxes" for the purpose of oblique fire at Soviet territory, and who gave the militarists the right to take over near-earth space?

More and more people are coming to realize that SDI does not replace nuclear weapons at all, but, in fact, is an incentive to create increasingly destructive types. Indeed, we will never permit the main idea of SDI -- to wreck strategic parity and secure military superiority over the Soviet Union -- to be implemented. In the end SDI leads to a quantitative and qualitative spurt in the buildup of strategic nuclear armaments.

It is SDI, as Reykjavik demonstrated, that is the main obstacle in the way of talks on reducing and eliminating nuclear weapons, and it is SDI that is undermining the Soviet-American ABM Treaty, which is the main barrier to the militarization of space.

It is time Washington realized that you can fool one person for a long time, but you cannot fool all the people all of the time. The sad SDI jubilee is a reminder of this.

PRAVDA ON GORBACHEV CSSR VISIT, ARMS ISSUES

PM150903 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[Nikolay Kurdyumov "International Review"]

[Text] Unbreakable Alliance [subhead]

The official friendly visit of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, to Czechoslovakia at the invitation of the CPCZ Central Committee was the major international event of these days.

CSSR working people greeted the Soviet leader warmly and heartily, with sincere cordiality and hospitality. These feelings are a visible expression of the long-standing, strong relationship linking our parties and countries. It is built on the firm foundation of the sincere friendship of our peoples, who have forged an unbreakable alliance of two socialist states ofer the 4 decades since the February revolution in Czechoslovakia.

The close ties and all-around cooperation between our peoples are eloquently indicated by this example: The USSR accounts for more than 40 percent of all the CSSR's exports, and the annual commodity turnover between the two countries has exceeded R13.5 billion. A noteworthy feature of late has been the more active development of new forms of cooperation: direct ties, production collaboration, and the creation of joint enterprises and scientific research laboratories.

The Soviet Union attaches paramount significance to the further development and strengthening of friendly ties with Czechoslovakia and other socialist countries. Guided by the CPSU Program and the 27th CPSU Congress decisions, our party considers it its international duty together with other fraternal parties to strengthen the unity and increase the might and influence of the socialist community. It is more obvious than ever today that the course of socialism's competition with capitalism and the future of world civilization depend to a tremendous degree on the socialist community's cohesion and strength, on successes in the creative activity of the people of every country, and on the purposeful and concerted nature of their actions.

M.S. Gorbachev's visit took place at a time when the processes of restructuring, acceleration, and democratization aimed at fully revealing socialism's potential are developing in the Soviet Union. The policy of acceleration and restructuring has become the cause of the entire Soviet people.

Czechoslovak Communists support the decisions of the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum aimed at the revolutionary restructuring of Soviet society and see them as a new impetus and a source of inspiration also in their own activity in resolving the tasks of further building a socialist society in the CSSR. Soviet people express cordial thanks for this solidarity and support and for the loyalty to our peoples' fraternity.

During their exchange of opinions on urgent questions of the two parties' activities and on key aspects of the development of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations -- an exchange which took place in a spirit of comradely trust and frankness -- the two party leaders made a high assessment of the state of cooperation between the CPSU and the CPCZ and between the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia. [paragraph continues]

They emphasized their determination to strengthen Soviet-Czechoslovak friendship and expressed the mutual desire to make cooperation at all levels more efficient and to make full and mutually beneficial use of the rich reserves for our countries' advancement along the path of accelerating socioeconomic development. Thus, it was agreed to deepen cooperation between state organs and public organizations, to increase the pace of development of production specialization and collaboration, and to enrich contacts in science, culture, education, and other spheres.

It can confidently be stated that the Soviet leader's friendly visit to Czechoslovakia will be a portentous landmark in Soviet-Czechoslovak relations and a weighty contribution to further strengthening interaction, cooperation, and the alliance of the two fraternal peoples.

Real Way [subhead]

During the Soviet leader's stay on Czech and Slovak soil great attention was devoted to the development of the international situation. And this is natural. Mankind is living through a complex and crucial period. The realities of the nuclear missile age unequivocally attest that never before has our common home been subjected to such danger as now. If you take as the base unit, for example, the total might of all the explosives expended in World War II, the nuclear weapons now stockpiled would suffice for 6,000 such world wars. Meanwhile the arms race is continuing, and the danger of its shift into space is increasing. It is a still more alarming fact that these weapons are continuously being improved and that increasingly monstrous and refined "exotic" kinds of them are being created [sozdat], like the "nuclear pumping" means for laser devices of the SDI system.

The Soviet Union proposes a truly peaceful alternative to the running of military conveyor belts and the increasing danger of war. Hence the very wide recognition given in people's hearts everywhere to the Soviet program for a nuclear-free world and the program for security through disarmament, which has opened up a real way to free a world oversaturated with weapons from its deadly burden and to save mankind from the threat of self-destruction.

For the Soviet Union the elimination of nuclear weapons is a natural and law-governed stage on the way to building not just a nuclear-free but also a truly nonviolent world which presupposes equitable relations and respect for every people's interests and for their right to make their own choice. The Soviet leadership demonstrates by specific actions its determination and readiness to act and indefatigably to seek solutions which open up the way to mutually acceptable accords on the cardinal problems of ensuring security for all.

Convincing confirmation of this is provided by the USSR's decision to single out from the package of questions the problem of the total elimination of Soviet and American medium-range missiles in Europe and to conclude a separate agreement on this without delay. The positive response to the Soviet initiative from broad circles in many countries on the European continent attests to the peoples' interest in removing dangerous weapons. Greece, the Netherlands, Spain, Italy, Finland, and many other European countries have come out in favor of solving the problem of Euromissiles. A real opportunity has emerged to remove an entire class of nuclear weapons from European soil and to begin the process of eliminating them. However, the Soviet Union had only to suggest realizing this opportunity, and NATO militarist circles, which only yesterday seemed to be campaigning for the implementation of the "zero option" on medium-range missiles, were seized with fear. While not venturing to go back openly on their word, certain Western politicians have begun seeking all kinds of pretexts for wrecking the agreement. Like a snowball, the question of medium-range missiles has begun to acquire all kinds of provisos, conditions, and linkages.

Thus, people in the West have recently been saying a great deal about the problem of operational and tactical missiles. In order to facilitate the urgent conclusion of an agreement on medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union expresses readiness to resolve this problem constructively too, without linking it to the course and outcome of solving the problem of medium-range missiles. To this end the USSR proposes beginning a discussion of the question of reducing and subsequently eliminating missiles with a range of 500-1,000 km stationed on the European Continent. For the duration of the talks the sides would adopt pledges not to increase the number of such missiles.

In order to exclude the possibility of a sudden attack there is an urgent need to take measures to reduce and ultimately eliminate tactical nuclear weapons and to radically reduce armed forces and conventional arms in Europe. The Soviet Union believes that the realization of the Warsaw Pact countries' Budapest program, which proposes that questions of reducing armed forces and conventional arms be resolved in a package with tactical missiles, attack aircraft, nuclear artillery, and other tactical nuclear means, would be a major step in this direction.

Measures such as the creation of nuclear-free zones and zones free from chemical weapons could also serve well to reduce military confrontation in Europe and strengthen security on the continent. In particular, the Soviet Union supports the GDR and CSSR Governments' recent appeal to the FRG Government proposing the creation of a nuclear-free corridor in central Europe and is ready to guarantee and respect the nuclear-free status of such a zone.

Advocating the urgent solution of the problem of medium-range missiles in Europe, the Soviet Union is convinced that such a first and truly great step in the disarmament sphere would not only be of great military and political significance but would also help to create a fundamentally new climate of East-West mutual understanding and to assert on the continent and throughout the world an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust, of coexistence and cooperation.

For Space Without Weapons [subhead]

Some 26 years ago, 12 April 1961, an astounded and rapt world applauded an unforgettable event in the history of human civilization. The daring dream of science fiction writers and scientists of putting a man into a new sphere -- space -- came true. The name of the space pioneer who orbited the earth spread throughout the world -- Yuriy Gagarin, in whose memory our planet's grateful inhabitants annually celebrate 12 April as World Aerospace Day.

Right from the start of the space age the Soviet Union proceeded and still proceeds from the premise that space is the property of all mankind and man's activity there must be placed at the service of peace and progress. On the day of the first cosmonaut's flight our country solemnly declared that it was joyfully placing its victories in space exploration at the service of all peoples in the name of the good and the happiness of all people on earth.

More than a quarter-century has elapsed since then. These years have clearly shown that space exploration opens up truly tremendous prospects for the scientific and national economic activity of earth people. And many peaceful avenues have been determined for rendering space habitable and investigating it. Today everyone knows the practical results of work in space for people's needs. People already make extensive use of space communications services and navigation and meteorological satellites, geologists prospect for minerals with the help of space photographs, and so forth. [paragraph continues]

The time is not far off when industrial shops will be operating in orbit. In short, the benefits which space exploration is already giving and can give to earthly civilization are tremendous. But admiration for the horizons of human reason which have been opened up is also mixed with a sense of bitterness and apprehension. For it has recently been becoming increasingly obvious that space can also be used to harm man and can become a source of deadly danger to people's lives.

The Soviet Union strives resolutely to prevent such madness. Reflecting the vital interests and aspirations of the world community, it consistently advocates the creation of international legal barriers in the way of turning space into a military bridgehead and advocates that states' activities in space not serve to kindle enmity but act as a bridge to strengthen trust and mutual understanding among them on earth. This is confirmed by the initiative advanced by the USSR within the UN framework, which provides for the implementation of a three-stage program of states' joint practical actions to investigate and utilize space for peaceful purposes and the establishment of a World Space Organization. Space research under the "Intercosmos" program, the implementation of the major international "Venus-Halley's Comet" project, and the joint Soviet-U.S. "Soyuz-Apollo" space experiment have been vivid examples of such fruitful cooperation among scientists and specialists of various countries.

The plans being nurtured on the other side of the ocean to spread the arms race into space and turn it into a "Star Wars" theater appear particularly sinister against the background of the Soviet program for cooperation in the peaceful investigation and use of space. Ignoring the opinions and warnings of many authoritative specialists that the creation [sozdaniye] of space ABM systems within the SDI framework would increase immeasurably the risk of a thermonuclear catastrophe, U.S. Administration figures endlessly repeat, like an incantation, their "unshakable allegiance" to SDI. And not only do they repeat this but they also work with feverish haste to realize their schemes in the illusory hope of achieving military superiority over the Soviet Union and the world of socialism. On the basis of an interview with scientists working on ABM problems THE NEW YORK TIMES pointed out recently that "the Pentagon is secretly preparing a detailed plan to station an ABM system in space by the mid-nineties." According to press reports, the U.S. military department is also planning to lay its hands on an orbital space station, the project for whose creation [sozdaniye] was recently approved by the president in order with its help to "usher in a new era of military operations in space." The weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT explains in this connection: In the current fiscal year the Pentagon budget for operations in space totals approximately 17 billion dollars and is more than double the NASA budget.

In the light of the feverish work being done under the SDI program in the United States it is understandable and natural that at the recent New York session of the legal subcommittee of the UN Committee on the Peaceful Use of Outer Space delegates from many countries of the world community described the American plans for "Star Wars" as a threat to all human civilization. The Indian newspaper PATRIOT writes that throughout the world, including in the United States, there is a growing movement against the dangerous plans to transfer the arms race into space. And the Soviet Union's active peace-loving foreign policy course and its constructive initiatives aimed at creating a nuclear-free world are helping these sentiments to grow, the newspaper points out.

JAPAN ALLOWS U.S. NUCLEAR SHIPS IN PORT

LD102128 Moscow TASS in English 1921 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Tokyo April 10 TASS -- TASS correspondent Vladimir Kuchko reports:

A U.S. naval group dropped anchor at the Japanese port of Sasebo today in defiance of protests by people and authorities there, who demand that Tokyo and Washington meticulously comply with this country's proclaimed non-nuclear principles.

The group, which is involved in a U.S.-South Korean exercise codenamed "Team Spirit '87", includes the aircraft-carrier ranger and the nuclear-powered cruiser Long Beach which carries nuclear-capable Tomahawk cruise missiles.

The visit drew the special attention of democratic organizations in Japan, which are alarmed about the real danger of their country being drawn still more deeply into the Pentagon's nuclear strategy.

Archive documents of the U.S. State Department, which became public knowledge several days ago, testify to confidential arrangements between Tokyo and Washington, allowing the American command secretly to bring nuclear systems into this country. This includes visits by U.S. ships with nuclear weapons to Japanese ports.

The newspaper AKAHATA said today that the conservative government, while verbally renouncing the introduction of nuclear weapons into the country, had in fact been acting as an accomplice to Washington in its aggressive policy.

COMMENTATOR ON U.S.-JAPAN-ROK ALLIANCE

SK111005 Moscow International Service in Korean 1130 GMT 9 Apr 87

[Commentary by station military commentator Vladimir Karemin]

[Text] The 14th UN regional conference held recently in Beijing as a part of the international arms reduction campaign for countries in Asia and the Pacific indicated that the attempt to form a triangular alliance among Washington, Tokyo, and Seoul has become one of the factors aggravating the situation in this region. Station military commentator Vladimir Karemin will talk about this:

[Begin Karemin recording in Russian, fading into Korean translation] Asia and the Pacific have long been an important region in the U.S. global strategy. In 1898, U.S. Senator Ellis said: The country that dominates the Pacifics will become the big power dominating the world.

The present Washington administration has not hesitated to conceal its attempt to place the Pacific under its influence, to deploy a large number of nuclear weapons and other weapons there, and, thus, to make it a bridgehead for aggression against the socialist countries in this region.

What do the White House and Pentagon authorities seek in order to achieve this goal of the U.S. Administration? More countries support the proposal for establishing nuclear-free peace zones throughout the world with each passing day, the ANZUS treaty has not been effectively implemented, and the future destiny of U.S. military bases in the Philippines is uncertain. Such being the case, Washington strategists are scheming to form a new military bloc like NATO. In other words, the problem is the formation of a triangular military alliance among Washington, Tokyo, and Seoul.

The formation of such a military alliance is not difficult because two axes of the triangle have already been established. Both Japan and South Korea are under U.S. military control due to their military treaties with the United States. There are U.S. military bases in Japan and South Korea. Under this situation, the problem is to establish the last and remaining axis of the triangle. In other words, the United States should strengthen its military and political cooperation with Japan and South Korea. This task is being actively carried out now.

Let us review how this task was initiated. Already in 1979, the so-called Japan-South Korea security and [word indistinct] agreement was signed. Synchronized with this, the director of the Japan Self-Defense Agency visited South Korea. This visit paved the road of starting mutual and regular contact between military leaders of the two countries.

Later, Nakasone, Japanese prime minister, and Chon Tu-hwan, boss of the Seoul regime, made mutual visits. Shortly after the visits, talks were held in Seoul between the chairmen of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces and the South Korean Armed Forces.

Since then, the military and political ties between the two parts have been strengthened in earnest. According to [words indistinct], the fact that Japan has provided $4 billion in loans to South Korea is further clear proof of the close military and political ties between the two sides. The Japanese loans provided to South Korea have been used in strengthening the South Korea military capability. This is no secret.

Such Japanese loans run counter not only to the Japanese Diet's resolution that Japanese loans to foreign countries should not be used for military purposes, but also to its decision to ban funds to those countries where military conflicts are taking place.

The expansion of contacts between Japan and South Korea has resulted in creating direct military ties between them. For example, reports have said that a plan to move the Japanese Armed Forces into the south side of the Korean Peninsula is under consideration. In light of what happened during the Korean war in 1950, such a plan can be considered as a feasible one.

In fact, during the Korean War, more than 6,000 Japanese participated in the military action against the DPRK, and more than 200 officers and men of the Japanese Self-Defense Forces held positions of commanders of the South Korean Army units. In 1950, 46 Japanese naval ships participated in U.S. naval operations for (?3 months). Also in 1950, the U.S. Congress discussed the problem of dispatching Japanese combat units to Korea.

Today, various types of military exercises have served the completion of military cooperation between the Japanese and South Korean Armed Forces. Until today, U.S.-Japanese military exercises and U.S.-south Korean military exercises have been conducted separately. However, officers and men of the Japanese Armed Forces and the South Korean Armed Forces participating in these joint military exercises have [words indistinct] and have participated in various joint exercises similar to the joint exercises with U.S. forces.

Observers from the Japanese Armed Forces have regularly participated in the "Team Spirit" joint military exercises between U.S. forces and the South Korean Army. [passage indistinct]

We cannot but pay special attention to the fact that high-ranking military representative from the Japanese Armed Forces and the South Korean Armed Forces have participated in the [words indistinct] exercise.

Last October, before a U.S.-Japanese joint military mobile exercise in which the (?three services) of the Armed Forces of the United States and Japan participated for the first time was conducted, the chief of operations of the South Korean Navy visited Tokyo. Before the current "Team Spirit-87" joint mobile exercise started, the chief of staff of the South Korean Army visited Tokyo.

All these facts shows that a triangular military alliance among Washington, Tokyo, and Seoul is being formed. [words indistinct] Such a move will further aggravate military and political confrontation and tension in Asia and the Pacific. [end recording]

PRAVDA NOTES DPRK LAYS WREATHS FOR KIMS

PM101539 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 87 First Edition p 4

[TASS report: "National Holiday in the DPRK"]

[Text] Pyongyang, 7 Apr -- The DPRK working people celebrated "Hansik," the Korean people's traditional national lunar calendar holiday. This is one of the main spring celebrations, a festival of fertility and a day to commemorate the deceased.

Wreaths were laid on the occasion of the holiday at the pedestal engraved with the star of "Hero of the DPRK" in the cemetary of revolutionaries on Pyongyang's Tesonsan [spelling as received] Hill from [to] Kim Il-song, general secretary of the Workers Party of Korea [WPK] Central Committee and DPRK president; Kim Chong-il, member of the Politburo Presidium and secretary of the WPK Central Committee; and from the WPK Central Committee, the DPRK Central People's Committee, the DPRK Administration Council, and republic ministries, departments, and public organizations.

RYUYTEL RECEIVES MONGOLIAN COURT DELEGATION

PM080939 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation Received"]

[Text] On 6 April A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received a delegation of the Mongolian Supreme Court led by (L. Renchin), chairman of the Mongolian Supreme Court. It is in our country at the invitation of the USSR Supreme Court.

There was a friendly conversation in which V.I. Terebilov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Court, took part.

CAMBODIA DENOUNCES OFF-SHORE MINERALS AGREEMENT

LD032029 Moscow TASS in English 1517 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Phnom Penh April 3 TASS -- The Foreign Ministry of the People's Republic of Kampuchea (PRK) views as unlawful and invalid an agreement signed in Bangkok by the so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea and some Asian and Pacific countries on setting up a coordinating committee for developing the off-shore mineral resources of the People's Republic of Kampuchea, says a statement published here by the republic's Foreign Ministry.

The PRK's Foreign Ministry deems it necessary to reiterate that the People's Republic of Kampuchea, which governs and totally controls Kampuchean territory at present, is the sole lawful representative of the Kampuchean people.

The so-called Coalition Government of Democratic Kampuchea is nothing short of the cover-up for the criminal Pol Pot clique and other Khmer reactionaries, and has no right to represent the Kampuchean people and sign whatever document concerning the Kampuchean people's interests.

Any agreement signed without the consent of the PRK Government is invalid, the statement points out.

PRK ISSUES AMNESTY FOR POL POT DESERTERS

BK140400 Moscow in Cambodian to Cambodia 1330 GMT 13 Apr 87

[Text] The PRK Government has just announced a month-long amnesty. This amnesty applies to the persons in the armed forces of Pol Pot and other Cambodian groups outside the country. According to the amnesty, any persons who decide to desert their ranks and stop committing criminal acts will be allowed to reunite with their families and carry out peaceful work. The Cambodian authorities will allow those awakened persons to keep their property.

The former members of various groups that oppose Cambodia will be allowed to serve in the PRK's Armed Forces according to their respective capacity.

As already announced, this amnesty does not apply to the high-ranking ringleaders of the Pol Pot clique.

CPV LEADER NOTES NEED TO HEED VOTERS' OPINIONS

PM101814 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent report: "Nguyen Van Linh Among the Voters"]

[Text] Hanoi, 7 Apr -- Nguyen Van Linh, general secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and candidate SRV National Assembly deputy, met voters in Vietnam's capital a few days ago. A frank and keen conversation took place on the republic's current problems. In particular, the voters voiced their suggestions as regards supplying industry with raw materials, overcoming negative trends in the sphere of working people's living standards, and questions of implementing social equality in the SRV.

Nguyen Van Linh noted in particular that insufficient attention to the people's opinion was one of the causes of mistakes and shortcomings in the country's life. Today, when processes of cleansing the party and the state apparatus and improving the condition of society are under way in the SRV, the role of the working masses, expressing their will and aspirations through National Assembly deputies, is particularly great.

TASS ON CIA PLANS TO SUPPRESS PHILIPPINE REBELS

LD101253 Moscow TASS in English 1010 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Manila April 10 TASS -- The use of American secret services by the U.S. Administration directly to intervene in the internal affairs of the Philippines can lead to a repetition of the Vietnamese tragedy in the country, the PHILIPPINE DAILY INQUIRER says today. According to the newspaper, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency has launched a two-year plan under which it will effectively contribute to the suppression of the rebel movement in the Philippines. The newspaper notes that the existing U.S. agent network in the country will be expanded by 10 per cent, which indicates U.S. readiness to contribute to the suppression of the rebels, an American expert on Asian problems, Richard Kessler, has stated.

The local press notes that the groundwork for the plan was laid by retired American General John Singlaub, a former chairman of the World Anti-Communist League, who recently visited the Philippines under the pretext of a hunt for the treasures pillaged by the Japanese invaders on the Philippines and allegedly hoarded there during the Second World War.

In fact, Philippine observers note, Singlaub's actions on the Philippines were a far cry from treasure-hunting. While he stayed in the country, American mercenaries arrived, right-wing extremist groupings were organized and an anti-Soviet campaign was launched in the mass media. Washington is going to control developments on the Philippines, economist and public figure Alexandro Lichauco, noted in the newspaper MALAYA.

AMBASSADORS TO INDONESIA, SINGAPORE REASSIGNED

PM301146 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 87 First Edition p 6

[Unattributed "Chronicle"]

[Text] The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has appointed Comrade Vladimir Mikhaylovich Semenov USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Indonesia.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Comrade Vladimir Mikhaylovich Semenov from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Singapore in connection with his transfer to other work.

The USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium has released Stanislav Ivanovich Semivolos from his duties as USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Republic of Indonesia in connection with his transfer to other work.

PRAVDA VIEWS UPCOMING NEW CALEDONIA REFERENDUM

PM140925 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 13 Apr 87 Second Edition p 6

[Article by Yuriy Vladimirov in response to reader's letter under the "We Answer a Reader" rubric: "Paris is Maneuvering" -- first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Reader I. Kalyakin from the Moscow region asks whether the question of granting independence to New Caledonia is being resolved.

The French Government of right-wing parties has submitted for examination by the current session of parliament a draft law on holding a referendum in New Caledonia on the question of the future status of this overseas French territory. [passage omitted]

But Paris is maneuvering here. It is planned to put the question at the referendum thus: either independence or "internal autonomy" which, naturally, suits the metropolitan power.

The population of New Caledonia now numbers approximately 145,000 people, of whom 65,000 are Kanaks and 52,000 European settlers. The remainder are mainly French people who have come temporarily to earn money.

According to the Chirac government's plan the "whites" should go to the polls as well as the Kanaks. Thus Paris, which is pursuing a policy of intensive resettlement by Europeans as a result of which the indigenous inhabitants no longer make up the majority of the population, is counting on getting a predominance of "white" votes in favor of "internal autonomy." Chirac's plan, the Communist Deputy E. Montoussamy said, is an attempt to legitimize France's colonial presence under cover of a democratic procedure.

The Kanaka Socialist National Liberation Front [FLNKS] rejects the colonialists' plan, agreeing to the participation in the referendum only of those "whites" who were born in New Caledonia. Otherwise the FLNKS intends to boycott the referendum in the form in which it has been conceived by the French.

The future will show how New Caledonia's destiny will take shape. One thing is clear: France will do its utmost to hold on to the archipelago. For France New Caledonia is a very large reservoir of nickel (approximately two-fifths of world stocks). In addition Paris is afraid that after independence has been granted to New Caledonia it will be the turn of Polynesia and Guiana -- also French possessions. Then France might lose its nuclear testing range on Mururoa atoll and its launchpad for its Ariane space rockets in Kourou.

That turn of events does not suit the United States, which is dragging France into the implementation of its "Star Wars" program. The Pentagon is counting on using its Pacific possessions within the framework of its nuclear-space strategy. That is why Washington is siding with the French Government on the question of granting independence to New Caledonia.

Despite all the difficulties, the Kanaks are continuing the struggle for independence.

PRAGUE TV ROUNDTABLE ON GORBACHEV CSSR VISIT

LD130820 Prague Television Service in Czech 1630 GMT 12 Apr 87

[Roundtable program presented by Dr Jan Zelenka, director general of Czechoslovak Television, with Academician Oleg Bogomolov, director of the Institute of Economy of the World Socialist System of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Gennadiy Gerasimov, head of the Information Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs; and Academician Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Soviet participants speaking in Russian with superimposed Czech translation]

[Text] [Zelenka] Good evening, esteemed television viewers. I welcome you at our roundtable discussion to which we have invited important Soviet representatives of sciences and publicity, if I can term it in this way, whom you already know very well from your television screens. I shall introduce them to you alphabetically. In the first place, there is Comrade Oleg Bogomolov, an academician and director of the Institue of Economy of the World Socialist System of the Academy of Sciences, then there is Comrade Gennadiy Gerasimov, the head of the Information Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, whom you know from the regular weekly news conferences, which our correspondent reports from Moscow, and finally Academician Comrade Yevgeniy Primakov, director of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Academy of Sciences.

We have thus introduced ourselves and the viewers now know you well and, as I have said, some of you from previous occasions. What is to be the subject of our discussion? Perhaps naturally we shall return to what we have been experiencing along with Comrade Gorbachev during his outstanding visit in Czechoslovakia and his speeches and talks with our general secretary, Comrade Husak. Both the communique and all the talks show that our approach both to domestic and international affairs is a common and united one. We are striving to bring about an all-around deepening and perfecting of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation and, quite simply, to make all our cooperation more dynamic. During the past few years the well-known words glasnost and perestroyka have entered our political vocabulary. Now, for instance, in Comrade Gorbachev's speeches -- both when dealing with the issues of domestic and foreign policy -- the term new thinking has appeared. Could we ponder what this new thinking is, what the new thinking requires both in foreign and domestic policy?

[Gerasimov] The world has changed a great deal. It was Einstein who called for new thinking because the world had changed. Where foreign policy is concerned, the main change lies in the fact that we are living in an atomic age when we cannot defend ourselves against the nuclear threat by our own technical means and therefore we now have to seek security for every country by other means. Regrettably, there still exists the view, as it used to be said in Roman times, that whoever wants peace must prepare for war. Mrs Thatcher recently visited Moscow and she holds this position. This Roman position has served to cover up preparations for numerous wars. Now, if we prepare ourselves for a war, we shall raise the level of nuclear confrontation and this threatens us with the total suicide of all mankind, either because of a technical accident, or through a mistaken calculation, or as a result of political adventurism, and for this reason we now must tackle the issues of war and peace in a new way. This involves the search for joint security and for political means to tackle complex international issues.

[Primakov] I would like to voice my disagreement straightaway with the proposition that it was Einstein who was the first to say so, and that we have to begin with him. Perhaps he said so, but he lived in a different age.

The fact is that in the 1950's and also the 1960's we used to say if an aggressor should attack us, he would be destroyed in the flames of war -- the strike in response. Yes. But unfortunately, now we cannot say this. We have never attacked anybody, but if there should now be an attack on socialist countries, if there should be a thermonuclear war -- that would lead to the liquidation of all human civilization. Such a situation arose for the first time in 1950 -- in Einstein's time this was not the case.

[Gerasimov] In 1955, Einstein did forecast this.

[Primakov] Well, all right, but I think that we do not have to count this forecast from Einstein.

Now -- how to look at the new political thinking. It has already been said by Gennadiy Ivanovich that these are new approaches toward security. First of all you noted that security has to be ensured above all by political means -- this first of all -- but there are other approaches, too, to the military section. Security must now be ensured. Looking at this from the military aspect, there has to be sufficient safeguarding of this security. It is not possible to increase the present strategic level existing between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, between the Soviet Union and the United States; it is not possible to continue the trend that has emerged; it is not possible to increase this level...

[Gerasimov, interrupting] because this level then will not be able to ensure security by itself.

[Primakov] Yes, the question of nuclear deterrence: To deter someone we need a somewhat higher level, and thus we want this level to preserve the security of both sides. However, we want this level to be reduced to the lowest possible level. Thus we want to remove the nuclear element; if we manage this the level will be reduced considerably.

[Zelenka] The great risk of any kind of clumsiness or a mistake that could lead to war would be reduced.

[Primakov] Yes, of course. Here is yet another parameter by which we can measure the new approaches. Security cannot be ensured by security of one side only; equal security for the other side is necessary, too.

[Bogomolov] I would like to stress another feature of the new thinking. Previously we reasoned: the worse for the adversary, the better for us, and vice versa. But today this is no longer true; this cannot be a rule anymore. Now countries are so dependent on each other for their development that we have to have quite a different image of the solution to international questions. The worsening of the situation in Europe will not at all help the development of the socialist part of Europe; on the contrary, the better things are going in the European and world economy, the higher the stability and the better the prospects for our development.

[Zelenka] Concerning the answer to the various questions being asked in the West at the moment -- which is more advantageous for us, a weak Soviet Union or a strong Soviet Union? Such questions were asked. You are, in fact, answering such questions. On the whole, stable states mean a certain stability of life.

[Gerasimov] There exists, I would say, a kind of watershed. What kind of Soviet Union is better for the West -- the weak, that is, without restructuring; or strong, that is, with restructuring? The most sensitive Western politicians are answering in a positive way. I criticized Mrs Thatcher who is in favor of nuclear weapons. Margaret Thatcher is of the opinion that restructuring, from the point of view of the overall situation, is a good thing; whereas in Washington many politicians do not think so. They think, on the contrary, that when the USSR is stronger, it will be worse for them. So various views exist in the West.

[Primakov] I would like to return to your question -- namely, the question of new political thinking. One of the elements of new political thinking is flexibility in the approach to tackling the main question: halting the arms race. It is not by chance that this has resounded in the address of Comrade Gorbachev here two days ago. It is not by chance that Comrade Gorbachev tried to find in Prague some kind of a solution to that ripe question. This concerns medium-range missiles. It is not by chance that he did it here in Prague, here, in the heart of Europe -- and he said so in his address.

[Bogomolov] The art of achieving compromise has always been one of the significant qualities of diplomacy and international politics. There are new things present in this respect, but, at the same time, it is also traditional.

[Primakov] All the traditions have not always been used unequivocally. I think that now this tradition is being used much more widely than before. For example, the question of medium-range missiles. What did they tell us when Gorbachev delivered the statement that we are willing -- or that we propose -- to do away with these missiles in Europe? They replied right away in the West that we must tie this with operational and tactical missiles.

[Gerasimov] Well, not directly right away, but 1 or 2 days later.

[Zelenka] Only after thinking about it well; they stopped all of a sudden.

[Primakov] Then the next argument is that it also must be tied to the limitation of conventional weapons -- as if they did not even notice that we did link it together, for it was said in the same statement in which we propose to do away with missiles in Europe -- that is, medium-range missiles -- that we also are willing to withdraw immediately operational and tactical increased-range missiles from the territories of Czechoslovakia and GDR, and to start talks -- as we put it at that time -- concerning operational and tactical missiles. Moreover, they waged a campaign against us as if their zero option did not even exist, when in fact we took their zero option as a point of departure. They presented it themselves, and when we accepted it, all of a sudden they started talking about something else and made it contingent on other things.

[Gerasimov] There is a Stanley Kubrick film -- Dr Strangelove or How I Learned to Stop Worrying and to Love the Bomb. So now that we have accepted the zero option, they have stopped worrying all of a sudden. Now they talk about nuclear deterrence again. They talk about conventional weapons.

[Primakov] But we are willing to limit such weapons as well. Comrade Gorbachev tried to solve these questions, or, as Comrade Husak said, he literally swept off the table all that the Western powers accumulated. He said the following, above all: We are willing independently from the medium-range missiles to start talks about strategic and tactical [as heard; Russian heard to say "operational"] missiles and to freeze their number for the time of the talks.

[Bogomolov] Recently, the attempt to achieve some kind of solution to this question and the willingness for a compromise is shown by our side and this is a new feature in the foreign political activity of the Soviet Union and socialist countries, but the West continues to stick to its policy of profits.

[Gerasimov] For example, the question of verification [kontrol] -- they always have said that we would never agree to verification. Always when the reduction of the level of armament, disarmament was discussed they used to say: You don't want to agree on verification. Now when we agree to verification, and even with on-site inspection, they suddenly are beginning to back away from this and say: What would it be like if Soviet inspectors should appear at U.S. bases? and so on.

[Primakov] Despite this, I think that we can remain optimistic. Comrade Gorbachev has only just said that hope can exist.

[Bogomolov, interruting] And optimism is also a feature of the new political thinking.

[Primakov] Yes, we cannot be pesimistic.

[Gerasimov] Optimism is practical, because if a person believes in something and wants something, then he also fights for it. But if we fold our arms and remain pesimistic then we shall achieve nothing.

[Primakov] We must, of course, be optimistic. Public opinion is changing. In the West, for example, they are having far greater difficulties with the preservation of those stereotypes created by hostile propaganda toward our country, Czechoslovakia, and other socialist countries. This is very difficult.

[Gerasimov] Now, everything taking place inour country is becoming permanent news for foreign press. I work with foreign correspondents in Moscow. There are about 430 and their number is growing all the time; only recently there have not been so many them. New ones are coming and sometimes complain that there is so much information that they cannot digest it. In the past it was quiet in Moscow.

[Zelenka] I would like to transfer the concept of new thinking to a slightly different field. New thinking also requires a new look at our socialist community, at relations amongst socialist countries, at that, as we say, which gives dynamics to socialism, and on how we all, jointly, by faster steps achieved some successes. I think this also influences the fact of whether the new thinking will reflect, will show itself faster or more slowly in the whole world.

[Bogomolov] This is correct and I think one could add a few things. Indeed, the relations amongst socialist countries were under the influence, I would say, of some kind of standardization. It seemed to us that certain principles were declared -- equality, mutual advantages, comradely cooperation -- and that all this is taking place somewhat automatically. However, each country has its peculiarities and countries, differing in their size, their economic standard and potential for cooperation, and this naturally has had to show in the cooperation. Furthermore, the Soviet Union is the first socialist country which, it was said, had to be able to solve all the problems correctly, and all the other questions were coming up against this. Now we look at the relations of socialist countries somewhat differently. Comrade Gorbachev, when he spoke here at a rally in Prague, recalled Lenin's words that socialism as a whole consists of a number of individual, unequivocal questions, and it is only after they have been put together that the whole of socialist society comes into being. This is why no socialist country has a monopoly on the truth and we now are creating altogether new experiences and are continuing in this development. All this is a testimony of a somewhat different thinking and approach to mutual relations.

[Gerasimov] It is precisely in your institute that everything is changing.

[Bogomolov] I look at this in this way. If under the old conditions, when the braking mechanisms still existed, if this new theoretical thinking did not develop, if the new concept did not come into existence, then they would hardly have been able today to set these changes in motion.

[Zelenka] After all, these ideas, which are all of a sudden so topical, did not come into being overnight. They apparently have been growing in your country for some years and have found at least fertile soil in the institutes.

[Bogomolov] In reality all this is somewhat complicated. Certain stereotypes and dogmatic views prevailed, but, at the same time, there existed figures who already were thinking somewhat ahead and were somewhat ahead of events. They saw those real processes taking place and were assessing them.

[Primakov] I think that the issue is not that such scientists existed, but that such party officials also existed. What has changed has not changed by chance. For a long time many people within the party understood that it was necessary to advance new attitudes and methods and to make use of the advantages of socialism. Many were simply dissatisfied with the braking mechanism as we call it now, which operated in the seventies, and already at that time they were thinking.

[Bogomolov] The experiences of our friends in other socialist countries have shown us something, because many of those things that we are now trying experimentally already exist in other socialist countries and have produced good results. Sometime not so good results, but these too, are experiences.

[Zelenka] You say that today the tendency to respect individual socialist countries is clear, but, on the other hand, I think that a great deal depends on how quickly we can integrate many processes into our socialist community. How do you view these integrational processes?

[Bogomolov] Important changes also have matured in this area and they already have been discussed during the talks held by the highest representatives of the CEMA countries last November. Economic cooperation and integration amongst the CEMA countries are now integral parts of the further development of these countries. Countries differ by the stage of their integration in the international division of labor. But even a country such as the Soviet Union, with its enormous resources, cannot exist today without the intensification of the integrational process. We have scored many successes, and Comrade Gorbachev recalled them in his speech at the Czechoslovak-Soviet friendship rally, but there are also problems that must be tackled. Ranking amongst them is a certain slowing down of the pace of the development of our mutual exchange of goods. We also have shortcomings in the development of specialization and coordination, which is the most dynamic part of our cooperation, and in the quality of goods which we supply to each other.

Thus, problems were accumulating which demanded a solution. We must not only identify these problems, but we also must find ways to solve them. This is being done at the moment; this has been implemented by the fraternal parties in the past few years, at the 1984 session, as well as during the summit working session and at many other sessions. I have in mind, for example, the Comprehensive Program of Scientific and Technological Development of the CEMA Countries up to the year 2000. All these significant decisions demand the activation and intensification of the economy. The main idea is to bring our cooperation to a higher qualitative level.

[Gerasimov] I think, however, that there are more important things than resolutions -- there have always been a lot of resolutions.

[Bogomolov] Yes, but I think that I also can see a number of practical steps in the USSR's foreign economic activity and that of the other countries; for example, the possibility of direct contacts between enterprises and joint enterprises and the activity that is taking place during the establishment of these joint enterprises. These enterprises already are being set up. I think that there are more than 120 enterprises which concluded such agreements between the USSR and Czechoslovakia, and other enterprises are negotiating such cooperation.

[Primakov] Yes, I think, I would agree that this is the most important thing at the moment. What must not stand in our way is the residue of bureaucracy. If we do away with that, then work will go well.

[Bogomolov] Old, bureaucratic structures stand in the way, of course. But there are also economic difficulties. Comrade Gorbachev mentioned them, too, in his address. In order to be able to use these structures, we must in fact create new structures of cooperation. We can cooperate, for example, in products such as video recorders, robots, and so on. But, let us say, we must alter the prices so that they correspond correctly to the actual contents of socially necessary labor.

[Gerasimov] Now, the question of using our cooperation for the joint production of video recorders -- the market is enormous.

[Bogomolov] In particular in the USSR, but the problem is that the markets are not the same.

A joint enterprise may be joint, but the market in the USSR is huge, whereas Czechoslovakia has only 15 million inhabitants. How can one ensure balance? That is the problem encountered by the directors of the Czechoslovak and the Soviet enterprises. We are striving for a certain degree of balance. We cannot buy everything. We must also sell something.

[Zelenka] I would like to add something to the allegation that there is a great bureaucracy. Comrade Academician, you said that about 120 enterprises already have started negotiations on creating joint enterprises. But if you look behind these negotiations you will find that the 120 enterprises so far are cooperating on paper, whereas the enterprises that are able to establish a joint production at the moment number only two or three.

[Bogomolov] This is right. We should not chase numbers; we should start off with just a few joint enterprises that would function well. I quite agree with you in this respect.

[Zelenka] You said a while ago that many years have passed since the building of socialism began in the individual countries; thus many different experiences exist today. But how to say which experiences to adopt and how to establish a criterion of values of the experiences? What do you think is the criterion of the value of the experiences?

[Bogomolov] The practical experiences assert themselves when they assist the strengthening of socialism. The stronger our system becomes as a consequence of the perfection of the economic mechanism, the more it proves that such an action deserves recognition. There is more socialism when the working class and all working people live better. This is a criterion: an improvement in the material situation of the working people -- and not just the material situation, but the general situation of a man in a socialist society, his human dignity -- all these are factors that assist the development of socialism.

[Primakov] Each country has its specific features of development and I think there is not a single formula for all countries. One country, for example, puts emphasis on cooperative forms of development, while other socialist countries have not carried out socialization in agriculture, for example. I think we have to look around in every direction and use everything available and not try to assert some kind of universal model and impose it on another country.

[Bogomolov] As long as the economy is growing faster, this also is proof that a certain form is successful. We have been forgetting a very important Leninist idea that socialism will assert itself if it ensures a higher standard of living than capitalism. Thus the criteria of efficiency and productivity of labor are very important in our planning, too. We often have planned the production only, and not its costs. We have been looking only at needs and not thinking about the costs, and the costs have been growing. What about the fund intensity and our investments? The rate of the assets' use is declining in the Soviet Union as well as in Czechoslovakia...

[Zelenka interrupting] In this regard, I would like to return to one question that Comrade Gorbachev has thrown on our table. He, in an interesting parallel, compared what we can achieve in socialism -- paradoxes, for example, that we are first in the production of steel in the world, but at the same time we are short of materials in factories. We also say this: We also like to boast that we have supplied superb equipment for the Soviet satellites for use in space, but we have some kitchen appliances for our housewives that do not work as they should. Naturally, there are people who say that socialism is to blame, because there are these paradoxes in our economy. I think we should ascertain properly what in fact to blame here.

[Bogomolov] In reality, socialist forms of organization and public life are not to blame, but the approach, the deviation from these forms, the red tape and formalization of these forms, the nonutilization of political and social mechanisms under socialism are to blame. This leads to many problems. On one hand we have vast volumes of production, while on the other we experience shortages. You can hardly explain to someone how the two can coexist -- to rank first in the world in steel production and, at the same time, to not have enough steel to export to capitalist markets, for example, when we, for example, decide purely bureaucratically what can be sold and bought to the wholesalers.

At present, with the overall reform taking place in the Soviet economy, we set this before ourselves as an aim: administrative allocation always is linked with certain shortcomings.

[Gerasimov] We believed that in Gosplan, that is, in the State Planning Committee, there can be enormously clever people who will think of everything, including kitchen gadgets. Unfortunately, this has not succeeded because a certain automation [automatismus] is needed here instead of red tape and bureaucratism.

[Primakov] The State Planning Committee issued 40,000 binding indicators, which it passed down to the ministries, many of which were already, in effect, aggregated. This was an impossible situation. Now we have to do it in a different way and we truly are striving to do it. We want to preserve the advantages of socialism; we want to preserve them and optimize them. This concerns central planning and, at the same time, we want to give economic freedom to enterprises.

[Zelenka] I had the opportunity for awhile to work as a journalist in the West where I saw that the enormous engine that drove people to do a good day's work was fear of unemployment. In socialism we have rid ourselves of this engine, because I believe, and this, after all, is our philosophical principle, it is an inhuman engine. But what kind of engine should we now be seeking that would be both human and socialist to ensure that people do a good day's work?

[Primakov] I do not know whether my colleague Academician Bogomolov will agree with me, but I think that the main thing we have to do now to create such an engine is to ensure that every employee in an enterprise feels as if he or she is one of the masters.

[Gerasimov] But we all have been saying this always.

[Primakov] But we did not succeed and so we need democratization.

[Bogomolov] There is in the West another engine of technological and economic progress, and it is competition. The monopoly of one producer does not exist there. As a rule a total monopoly cannot exist. There are, of course, monopolies, but despite this there is competition. Under our conditions, unfortunately, there frequently are monopoly producers. The producer dictates and the consumer, who is dependent on him, has to take whatever is forced on him.

What is the alternative to the Western type of competition? I believe that certain types of economic competition have to exist. The monopoly of the producer in socialism is not sensible. There must be several producers. The consumer must have a choice. This is not a symptom of anarchy or haphazardness. No, it is the symptom of the continual raising of quality and the endeavor to reduce production costs. As far as unemployment is concerned then, naturally, socialism excludes mass unemployment. This, however, does not mean that manpower cannot be used effectively and if the enterprise is not profitable then it must be closed and the labor force must then be retrained and alternative employment found for them.

[Zelenka] There is much scope in our society where this surplus manpower can be utilized. In the services in particular we employ small numbers of people.

[Bogomolov] Yes, you named that area where we are still lagging behind a great deal in Czechoslovakia and in the Soviet Union in particular. Services in the West at the present time form between 40-50 percent of the national income. In our country this percentage is considerably lower. It requires a great deal of manpower and it is necessary to create new jobs.

[Gerasimov] But who is opposed to doing this?

[Primakov] We did not approach this matter quite correctly theoretically, and here I do not have in mind Soviet economists alone, but also economists from other socialist countries, since we believed that everything not connected with material production was secondary and that the people who work in the sector are also secondary.

[Bogomolov] We believe, for example, that national income is not being created, but spending is taking place. For example, money goes for education, amenities for children, health care, what we call the social sphere of culture.

[Primakov] But production cannot exist without this sector.

[Gerasimov] From the point of view of macroeconomics, this is a reflection of the health of the people.

[Bogomolov] Naturally, these institutions also are productive and what is being spent on them is the most productive expenditure.

That is why we are stressing now that we must give up resolutely the principle of allocating for health care and similar spheres only the resources that remain from what has been allocated for production. We must prefer social and cultural spheres.

[Zelenka] Our striving is to increase the dynamism of socialism, to demonstrate that socialism is fully viable and is fully capable of using its advantages, not only for our people, but also for the outside world, to make socialism attractive again. I think that the question of the attractiveness of socialism is very important in the struggle of the two worlds today.

[Primakov] You are saying this correctly.

[Bogomolov] Yes, it is correct, but in real life we are encountering forces that are trying as quickly as possible to do away with all the obstacles in the further development of socialism, and then there is also inertia which, unfortunately, occupies a different position. Yes, it is inertia of some sort. The increasing attractiveness of socialism is also a question of the struggle of the old with the new.

[Zelenka] Now, comrades, I would like to progress to the concluding points of our debate. Comrade Gorbachev in his address in Prague said very vehemently that it would be a triumph of the new way of thinking if one could realize what he calls a pan-European house. What should such a pan-European house contain?

[Gerasimov] Many people thought about this pan-European house, even Jiri from Podebrady, for example, who wrote an entire treatise. Everything looked wonderful on paper: All kings must stop waging war. There were also other suggestions -- I think mention Kant in this respect, and others. But at that time there were no realistic possibilities for such things. Now that we are returning, so to speak, to what we have started with respect to new thinking, we have a joint base, a joint geographical position, joint cultural traditions. But Europe is divided into two camps. That is very dangerous. We must respect Europe and our joint home and see to it that it does not collapse.

[Zelenka] I would like to repeat again that in Europe, where joint culture and joint civilization were born, there are now the biggest numbers of troops and armies, nuclear warheads, there is now the greatest degree of danger in the world.

[Primakov] As you know, at the 27th party congress new stress was laid on the world's mutual conditioning and interdependence. We are dialecticians; we understand that the world is developing as a consequence of unity and the struggle of opposites, up to a certain point. We kept forgetting about the first process -- unity. We kept talking about the struggle of opposites only. Naturally, this struggle exists, naturally, socialism and capitalism exist in Europe and outside Europe. At the same time, there is that unity, too. We have seen this unity.

[Zelenka] It has to be used for the sake of the position of Europe.

[Primakov] Yes, of course.

[Gerasimov] There is negative unity and there is positive unity. In nearly every European city there is a plague column -- here is unity for you, it was a common danger: the plague. Even now we have a common danger: the nuclear danger.

[Bogomolov] Then one also has pollution.

[Zelenka] That is a danger that is common for all of Europe today.

[Primakov] But you are starting from the negative.

[Gerasimov] We have also mentioned the positive things.

[Primakov] There is the world economy, which is developing according to its own laws.

[Zelenka] Never before has there been such communication and such interdependence of individual countries in Europe as now.

[Primakov] Europe is divided into two communities of integration. However, there are certain uniform laws and we are now taking much notice of them, not only because mutual dependence in the world is increasing, but also because Europe, as Comrade Gorbachev stressed, can play a very important, positive role. Thus, a united Europe, when we view it as one whole unit, can have a very stabilizing influence on the whole international community.

[Zelenka] I would like now to come to a full stop after the new thinking. I thank you very much, friends, for the participation in this discussion. Once more, we are saying good-bye to Academician Bogomolov, Academician Primakov, and our dear guest Gennadiy Gerasimov. Greetings to you, our esteemed and dear viewers, once more, and see you another time!

REPORTAGE ON IRAQI FRIENDSHIP TREATY JUBILEE

Greetings to Iraq

FM131125 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Second Edition p 1

[Friendship Treaty anniversary message from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers to Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq]

[Text] To Saddam Husayn, chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council and president of the Republic of Iraq

On the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Iraq, we send you and the friendly Iraqi people sincere congratulations and very best wishes.

The treaty laid firm foundations for the dynamic development of Soviet-Iraqi relations in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in one another's internal affairs. The time that has passed since the conclusion of this treaty has convincingly demonstrated the steady expansion of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation in various spheres and primarily in the task of developing and strengthening key sectors of the Iraqi economy -- the oil and power industry.

The treaty plays an important role with regard to establishing the norms of equal cooperation in international relations, without discrimination or attempts to influence people's choice of path in their development, and it thereby makes an important contribution to ensuring universal peace and security.

We are confident that the treaty will continue to reliably serve the tasks of strengthening friendship and fruitful cooperation between the USSR and the Republic of Iraq and promote efforts to eliminate seats of tension and improve the situation in the Near and Middle East and the world as a whole.

USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium
USSR Council of Ministers

Saddam Husayn Message

FM131215 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Second Edition p 1

[Friendship Treaty anniversary message from Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq, to A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers]

[Text] To A.A. Gromyko, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, and N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

On the 15th anniversary of the signing of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between Iraq and the Soviet Union, it gives me pleasure to send the warmest congratulations and very best wishes to the Soviet leadership and to you personally.

Linking our friendly countries for 15 years, the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, which is based on the principles of equality, mutual respect, sovereignty, and constructive coopertion, has brought positive results in every area of collaboration between our countries and still serves as a firm foundation for the furtehr development of bilateral relations.

I would like to take this opportunity to reaffirm Iraq's intention to further strengthen the bonds of friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union in line with the principles laid down in the treaty and in the same spirit which has hitherto characterized our relations. This would be in the common interests of our two friendly countries and would serve the task of promoting the cause of peace and stability in our region and throughout the world for the good of the ideals of freedom, equality, and justice common to all mankind.

Saddam Husayn, president of the Republic of Iraq

Moscow Meeting

FM121329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Devoted to the Anniversary"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has always been and remains a true friend the Arab peoples. This was stressed at a ceremonial soiree held in Moscow 8 April to mark the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the USSR and Iraq.

The period since the signing of the Iraq-Soviet treaty has been marked by the further development and strengthening of relations between our countries in various spheres, Sa'd Abd al-Majid al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador to the Soviet Union, said in his speech at the soiree. He highly assessed the USSR's peace-loving course in the international arena and the Soviet Government's efforts aimed at eliminating seats of tension and moving the Iran-Iraq conflict in the direction of peaceful solutions. This policy corresponds to the spirit and letter of the Iraqi-Soviet treaty.

The soiree was attended by the heads of a number of Arab countries' diplomatic missions accredited in the USSR.

IZVESTIYA Hails Anniversary

FM140959 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 5

[A. Ostalskiy article: "April 9 Is 15th Anniversary of USSR-Iraqi Friendship and Cooperation Treaty: Based on Principles of Equality"]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Wherever you go in Iraq, you see the concrete results of Soviet-Iraqi cooperation. Around 100 major economic facilities have been or are being built in the country with Soviet assistance. In conversation Iraqis often stress the importance of the fact that the USSR helps Iraq create the most important key sectors of the economy which determine the country's destiny and ensure its economic and political independence.

Iraq's chief resource is oil. It was the large reserves of this raw material which enabled it in the seventies and early eighties to implement extensive socioeconomic development plans and to mount a resolute assault on the backwardness, poverty, and illiteracy bequeathed by the semicolonial regime.

Wresting the natural resources away from the control of Western monopolies was not easy. The Soviet Union helped Iraq overcome their fierce opposition and thwart the attempts at political and economic boycott. [paragraph continues]

After the oil industry was nationalized at the beginning of the seventies the sector developed rapidly, and an important role was played here by the development of the North Rumaylah oil field with Soviet collaboration.

Many scientists consider that legendary Mesopotamia is the source of most cultivated plants. The soil in Iraq was and remains fertile, but the climate is such that farming requires irrigation and is a constant struggle against the desert. That is why such importance is attached to constructing main canals to regulate the supply of water and creating major reservoirs. Some of the sectors which form the basis of the state sector have been created thanks to cooperation with the USSR. Cooperation has covered machine building, agriculture, infrastructure development, electrical engineering, light industry, pharmaceuticals, and other areas. Commodity turnover between our countries has increased many times over in the last 15 years.

A good name has been earned in Iraq not only by the thousands of Soviet specialists and workers who have contributed their work and experience to developing the national economy but also by musicians, choreographers, teachers, scientists, and coaches in various sports.

Soviet-Iraqi cooperation is mutually beneficial, but it also has a firm political foundation. Both countries advocate relaxing tension, bringing about disarmament, and settling regional conflicts and oppose imperialist diktat and the policy of force.

"Soviet-Iraqi friendship has stood the serious test of time," 'Abd al-Fattah Muhammad Amin, chairman of the Union of Societies for Friendship With the Peoples of Foreign Countries, said in conversation with Soviet journalists. "And is of significance not just for our countries. Our cooperation can be regarded as a model of just and friendly relations between states and as a lesson of true equality for both developing and developed countries."

"The Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation signed 9 April 1972 raised Soviet-Iraqi relations to a new level," the Iraqi newspaper AL-THAWRAH writes. "The treaty laid a firm foundation for bilateral relations based on equality and mutual respect. It not only meets the interests of the Iraqi and Soviet peoples but also exerts a positive and beneficial influence on the situation in the Arab would as a whole."

Iraq is now experiencing a difficult period in its history. The protracted war with Iran has weakened both the warring sides, put a brake on their economic growth and social development, and diverted them from resolving most important domestic and international tasks. The stance adopted by Iraq, which has stated its readiness to cease military operations and resolve the problems of relations with Iran at the negotiating table on the basis of the UN Charter and UN decisions, has met with understanding in the Soviet Union. Since the very beginning of the conflict the USSR has made efforts to bring about a peaceful and just settlement. The urgency of this task and our country's desire to do everything to facilitate the search for a peaceful solution was again stressed in the Soviet government statement issued 8 January 1987.

CONTINUED REPORTAGE OF DEMICHEV VISIT TO IRAQ

PRAVDA Version

FM121316 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 9 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS reports under general heading "Delegation's Departure for Iraq"]

[Excerpts] A Soviet state delegation headed by P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, left Moscow for Baghdad 8 April to participate in the celebrations for the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation Between the USSR and the Iraqi Republic. [passage omitted]

Baghdad, 8 Apr -- The Soviet delegation arrived in Baghdad today. [passage omitted]

During the afternoon the head of the Soviet delegation was received by Iraqi President Saddam Husayn. P.N. Demichev gave the Iraqi leader a verbal message from M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

A talk was held during which the state of and prospects for Soviet-Iraqi relations and the potential for breaking the deadlock in the Near and Middle East conflicts were examined. Both sides expressed a desire to continue the struggle to strengthen international security, and the nuclear arms race, and oppose the militarization of space.

In the evening T.M. Ma'ruf, Iraqi vice president and member of the Revolution Command Council, gave a dinner in honor of the Soviet state delegation. It was attended by T. 'Aziz, member of the Revolution Command Council and Iraqi foreign minister, and other officials.

IZVESTIYA Covers Visit

FM131451 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 11 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Soviet Delegation in Iraq"]

[Text] Baghdad, 10 Apr -- P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, who is head of the Soviet state delegation in Iraq to take part in measures dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the USSR-Iraq Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, had a meeting yesterday with T.Y. Ramadan, member of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and Iraqi first deputy prime minister.

There was a detailed exchange of opinions on issues relating to bilateral relations and primarily on economic cooperation between the two countries. It was noted that this cooperation is extensive and mutually advantageous and has good prospects for the future. P.N. Demichev and T.Y. Ramadan discussed some international and regional problems, including the Iran-Iraq war and the state of affairs with regard to a Near East settlement.

On the same day the Soviet state delegation held talks with Sa'id 'Abd al-Fattah al-Qubaysi, Iraqi deputy trade minister. [paragraph continues]

The sides discussed the prospects of expanding Soviet-Iraqi trade and implementing the long-term agreement signed in June 1986, and they dwelt on the possibility of increasing machinery and equipment deliveries from the Soviet Union and the purchase of traditional Iraqi exports.

A mass meeting of Soviet-Iraqi friendship dedicated to the 15th anniversary of the Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation between the two countries was held in the Iraqi capital's Palace of Congresses. Addressing the meeting, P.N. Demichev said that the Soviet-Iraqi treaty had justified the hopes invested in it and had become the foundation upon which bilateral ties were being successfully built in various spheres.

The signing of the treaty in April 1972, he pointed out, was the logical, natural result of the course of development in relations between the two countries in the preceding period. It reflected the political desire of the Soviet and Iraqi peoples to build their relations on the basis of the proximity or coincidence of their views on the main international and regional problems and their desire to strengthen and build on the level of trust and mutual understanding achieved.

P.N. Demichev noted the ongoing development of political relations between the USSR and Iraq. A paramount role in this respect has been played by summit-level meetings, and particularly by meetings between M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and S. Husayn, chairman of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and president of Iraq. The accords reached during these meetings have given new impetus to the further development of the entire complex of Soviet-Iraqi relations and have contributed to strengthening mutual trust. The meeting yesterday with Iraqi President S. Husayn reaffirmed the friendly nature of multifaceted relations between our countries.

The North Rumaila oil fields, the canal linking Lake al-Tharthar and the Euphrates, the agricultural machine-building plant at Iskandariya, the heat and electric power plant at al-Nasiriya, and many other projects have deservedly become symbols of our economic cooperation. Soviet-Iraqi economic cooperation has good prospects. In line with agreements signed in recent years, work has already begun on building such major projects as a gas pipeline between al-Nasiriya and Baghdad and the "Al-Baghdadi" hydrosystem on the Euphrates.

Also developing are numerous contacts between the two countries' publics, which contribute much to strengthening mutual understanding, trust, and cooperation. Relations between our countries, the head of the Soviet delegation continued, have become an important factor of international life which affects not only the state of affairs in the region. We are in favor of even more extensive, varied collaboration between the USSR and Iraq in the future.

The present international situation demands the cohesion of all progressive forces in the struggle against the nuclear danger and for the strengthening of peace and the guarantee of peoples' freedom and independence.

The extensive program put forward by the Soviet Union to avert a nuclear catastrophe and eliminate nuclear mass destruction weapons by the end of the century, as well as create a comprehensive international security system, is meeting with active support throughout the world. New political thinking is now essential if we are to avert a universal catastrophe. New political thinking is a realistic response to the challenge of the times, which requires a qualitatively different approach to resolving the tasks facing mankind at the end of the second millennium.

The settlement of regional conflicts, including the situation in the Near East, would have extremely great significance with regard to improving the general world situation. Together with everyone else who values peace and stability in the Near East, the Soviet Union favors a just settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict stipulating fulfillment of the Palestinian peoples' right to self-determination.

We sincerely desire an end to the Iran-Iraq armed conflict and a negotiated solution to the disputes between these countries on the basis of recognized international legal norms and the preservation of the states' sovereignty and territorial integrity. Despite the complexity and severity of the problems and contradictions that have built up between Iran and Iraq, there are no insuperable obstacles in the way of ending the war and establishing peace. The main thing is that both sides show the political will and determination to reach mutually acceptable accords.

On a practical level, the Soviet Union has given and continues to give active assistance to any honest, constructive efforts, including within the UN framework, which aim to channel the Iran-Iraq conflict onto the path of peaceful solutions. We will continue to pursue this course undeviatingly.

In conclusion, P.N. Demichev expressed the firm belief that Soviet-Iraqi relations would develop further in various spheres and wished the friendly Iraqi people peace and prosperity for the future.

Fifteen years ago, T.M. Ma'ruf, member of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and Iraqi vice president, said in his speech, a document was signed which has become the firm basis of continued relations of friendship and cooperation between the two countries. These relations are characterized by equality and respect for each other's independence. Iraqi-Soviet cooperation now embraces the political, economic, scientific, and cultural areas, and Iraq sincerely desires the continuation of fruitful ties, deeper mutual understanding between the two countries' peoples, and active joint steps in the interests of peace, progress, and freedom on earth.

From the very beginning of the Iran-Iraq armed conflict, T.M. Ma'ruf continued, Iraq has tried to resolve the conflict by peaceful means. On 2 August last year, Iraqi President S. Husayn proposed five principles which could form the basis of lasting, comprehensive peace between the two countries. These ideas met with broad approval throughout the world, including the friendly Soviet Union. Peace, the vice president emphasized, can only be established on the basis of freedom and respect for the rights and sovereignty of all states and peoples.

On behalf of the Iraqi leadership, T.M. Ma'ruf said, I would like to appraise highly the Soviet initiatives aimed at reducing international tension, achieving disarmament, and strengthening peace throughout the world. Iraq supports all efforts aimed at resolving international conflicts, ensuring peace, and establishing justice.

3. The Iraqi vice president wished the friendly Soviet people prosperity, progress, and success.

The meeting was concluded with a festive concert given by Soviet and Iraqi artists.

Today, the head of the Soviet state delegation had a meeting with Tariq 'Aziz, member of the Revolution Command Council, deputy prime minister, and Iraqi foreign minister. [paragraph continues]

During the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, the sides discussed a broad range of issues relating to Soviet-Iraqi relations and exchanged detailed opinions on topical international problems, the Near East situation, and the Iran-Iraq conflict.

The sides expressed satisfaction with the progressive development of Soviet-Iraqi relations, which rest on the firm basis of the Soviet-Iraqi treaty signed 15 years ago. The importance of this document was registered, and the sides reaffirmed their mutual willingness to develop and deepen further the fruitful cooperation between the two countries.

During a discussion of the basic problems of the world situation the sides expressed a common opinion regarding the urgent need to do the maximum possible to remove the nuclear threat, end the arms race, and prevent it spreading into space. The Iraqi side appraised highly the USSR's firm course aimed at improving the international political climate and reducing the threat of war. It voiced its support for the extensive peace initiatives put forward by the Soviet Union to achieve these aims.

When examining the situation in the Near East, the sides expressed serious concerns over the dangerous situation prevailing in this region as a result of Israel's continuing aggressive actions carried out with the support of imperialist circles. Both sides stressed the need to reach a just, comprehensive settlement in the Near East.

T. 'Aziz presented Iraq's position on issues concerning the Iran-Iraq conflict and reported on the steps being taken by the Iraqi leadership to seek ways to a peaceful settlement of the disputes. P.N. Demichev reaffirmed the Soviet Union's principled stand in favor of the earliest possible end to the war between Iran and Iraq and a politically negotiated settlement. The continuation of the war only benefits imperialist forces, which are interested in weakening both states and establishing their domination in the region. The Soviet Union, the head of the Soviet delegation said, will do everything possible to support efforts toward a peaceful settlement of the conflict and to contribute to the effective use of the UN potential to end the war between Iran and Iraq.

The sides expressed their satisfaction with the talks, meetings, and conversations held and stressed that the formal celebration of the 15th anniversary of the USSR-Iraq Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation has made an important contribution to strengthening and developing friendly Soviet-Iraqi relations.

Yesterday evening Ye. I. Osadchuk, deputy chairman of the USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, who is in Baghdad as part of the Soviet delegation, had a meeting with I.A. al-jbalabi, Iraqi oil minister. The sides discussed issues of bilateral relations and examined the progress made in work on economic projects being built in Iraq with the USSR's technical assistance.

Today the delegation left Baghdad for home. It was accompanied to the airport by Taha Muhyi al-Din Ma'ruf, member of the Iraqi Revolution Command Council and Iraqi vice president, and other officials. V.I. Minin, USSR ambassador to Iraq, was among those present.

Before he left, P.N. Demichev told journalists that the Soviet state delegation had had fruitful meetings with Iraqi President S. Husayn, First Deputy Prime Minister T.Y. Ramadan, Vice President T.M. Ma'ruf, Foreign Minister T. 'Aziz, and other leading Iraqi figures. [paragraph continues]

During our conversations, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere, we discussed issues relating to the present international situation, the position in the Near and Middle East, and bilateral relations. The stands taken by the USSR and Iraq are close or coincident on many major issues -- primarily on issues relating to the fight for universal peace and disarmament. This is a good basis for increasing our countries' collaboration in the international arena. We have had a detailed discussion of various aspects of bilateral relations. Both sides have expressed the desire to promote their further expansion and strengthening on a mutually advantageous basis. Opinions were also exchanged in connection with the development of the situation in the Iran-Iraq conflict. Our side stressed that the table of peace negotiations rather than the field of battle is, the USSR is sure, the arena in which ways to settle the difference between Iran and Iraq must be sought.

In conclusion, the head of the Soviet state delegation expressed his profound gratitude for the warm, cordial welcome given to the delegation members in Iraq and wished the friendly Iraqi people success and prosperity.

On the same day the Soviet state delegation led by P.N. Demichev returned to Moscow.

It was met at the airport by B.N. Yeltsin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of Moscow CPSU Gorkom, A.F. Ryuytel, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, T.N. Menteshashvili, secretary of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, and other officials.

S. 'A.M. al-Faysal, Iraqi ambassador to the Soviet Union, was among those present.

OFFICIAL MEETS WITH PALESTINIAN ENVOY IN MOSCOW

LD1007324 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow April 10 TASS -- A meeting took place at the Soviet Lawyers' Association today with Said Abu Imar [name as received], the Palestine Liberation Organization's charge d'affaires ad interim in the USSR.

The progressive public the world over on April 17 observes Palestinian Prisoners' Day.

The president of the Soviet Lawyers' Association, Aleksandr Sukharev, who is justice minister of the Russian Federation, expressed the solidarity of the legal profession in this country with the thousands of Palestinian patriots languishing in Israeli concentration camps and prisons.

He said that the Israeli occupiers' outrageous maltreatment and torture of political prisoners, POW's and civilians were a glaring violation of human rights and of universally recognized legal standards.

The Arab people of Palestine's courageous struggle for their legitimate rights, first of all the right to self-determination, and the wholehearted support of all Soviet people and all other progressively-minded forces on the planet, he stressed.

Said Abu Imar voiced gratitude to the Soviet lawyers and all Soviet people for their invariable backing of the rightful cause of the Arab people of Palestine struggling for their freedom and independence.

DIALOGUE AIMED AT PLO UNITY BEGINS IN ALGIERS

PM150847 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 14 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed own correspondent dispatch: "Algiers: Dialogue Begins"]

[Text] Algiers -- A preparatory meeting of Palestinian organizations has opened here and is expected to agree the political principles of the PLO's unity, which the PLO will submit at the Palestinian National Council session also due to open here, in Algiers, 20 April.

The preparatory meeting is attended by delegations from eight organizations headed by their general secretaries, representatives of public organizations and trade unions, and independents. This fact alone indicates that the idea that it is necessary to conduct and logically conclude an internal Palestinian dialogue has been backed by the majority within the Palestinian resistance movement and has gained the upper hand over the split in the PLO's ranks that has marked its activity over the last few years.

Discussions are taking place on the basis of accords reached previously between the main Palestinian groupings, and primarily the agreement signed in mid-March by Fatah, the Democratic Front for the Liberation of Palestine, the Palestinian Communist Party, and other organizations. The preparatory meeting is the main test of whether the Palestinian National Council session can be held as a session of unity.

BRIEFS

TRAINING ACCORD WITH TUNISIA -- An agreement on developing scientific and technological cooperation between the USSR and Tunisia in the training of engineering personnel has been signed in Tunis. According to this agreement, the Moscow Power Engineering Institute will send engineering and teaching staff to Tunis. Exchange of educational aids, the holding of joint consultations, conferences, and seminars are also envisioned. [Text] [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 9 Apr 87 LD]

NICARAGUA SENDS OFFICIAL PROTEST TO U.S.

LD080810 Moscow TASS in English 0556 GMT 8 Apr 87

[Text] Managua April 8 TASS -- On Tuesday the Nicaraguan Foreign Ministry sent a note of protest to the U.S. Government in connection with the escalation of terrorist actions by U.S. mercenaries dispatched to the republic by the Central Intelligence Agency. On April 5, the note points out, contras blasted several pylons of power transmission lines in the Jinotega Department, which resulted in disruption of power supply in the republic's northern areas. The Nicaraguan Government accused the Reagan Administration of conducting the policy of "state terrorism" against Nicaragua's civil projects [Moscow TASS in English at 0612 GMT on 8 April transmits a service message correcting this item to read at this point "against Nicaragua" instead of "against Nicaragua's civil projects"] and called on the U.S. ruling quarters to respect international laws.

NICARAGUA'S D'ESCOTO ON U.S. 'TERRORISTIC PLANS'

LD071149 Moscow TASS in English 1058 GMT 7 Apr 87

[Text] Accra April 7 TASS -- The U.S. has spent four billion dollars in the past six years on subversive activities against the Sandinist people's revolution. This has been stated by Miguel D'Escoto, minister of foreign affairs of Nicaragua, staying here on an official visit. Speaking at a press conference, he pointed out that all the attempts of the U.S. to destabilize the situation in the country were worthily repulsed by Nicaraguan people.

Miguel D'Escoto said that the Reagan administration had boasted that it would overthrow the present government in three months. However, several years have passed, and its terroristic plans continue to be frustrated. The U.S. subversive activities against Nicaragua and their continuous threats to stage a direct military invasion constitute a gross violation of the international law. A 'big stick' continues to be the main tool of U.S. policy with regard to the countries which have chosen an independent path not suitable to Washington.

The Reagan administration stubbornly refuses to realize that Latin America is no longer a back yard of the United States. We want peace with the U.S., but it should be based on mutual respect for sovereignty and Washington's discontinuation of interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua, Miguel D'Escoto said.

IZVESTIYA CITES CASTRO SPEECH TO YOUNG COMMUNISTS

PM080937 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Fidel Castro Speech"]

[Text] Havana, 6 Apr -- Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Cuban Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the republic's Council of State and Council of Ministers, addressed the formal closing session of the Fifth Cuban Young Communists Union Congress.

Highly appraising the results of the congress, the Cuban leader stressed that the forum's work had reflected the best qualities of the young generation: boldness, honesty, self-conference, revolutionary, communist awareness, and a high cultural level. I believe, F. Castro said, that our young people are the best thing to come out of the revolution. This was the dream of those who stormed the Moncada barracks and died defending the revolution.

Touching on the economic situation, F. Castro stressed the need to further step up the struggle to improve production efficiency and save material resources. The country is now faced with a serious task -- to successfully complete the sugar cane harvest season and sow large areas with sugar cane to compensate for the losses from the natural disasters which have struck Cuba. The country is faced with more and more new difficulties. However, despite everything the country is developing and will continue to do so. Heat and power plants, petrochemical enterprises, and the "Juragua" nuclear power plant are being built. F. Castro dwelt in detail on plans for large-scale housing construction and the creation of public health care institutions, schools, preschool institutions, and youth clubs.

The Cuban leader devoted a great deal of attention to the country's current process to rectify mistakes and eliminate negative trends that have appeared, stressing that in many cases the disorder in the economy caused by stupidity or lack of principle may qualify as a crime against the country's economy.

F. Castro noted that during the congress many delegates had discussed mistakes and negative trends from a communist standpoint. Resolving these problems and creating a more healthy climate in the country must take revolutionary form and proceed under the leadership of the party, the Young Communists Union, and mass public organizations.

The Cuban leader described the latest anti-Cuban campaign unleashed by the United States in the context of the recent 43d session of the UN Human Rights Commission in Geneva as cynical and hypocritical. American imperialism, which has maliciously accused Cuba of human rights violations, bears the responsibility for the deaths of millions of people in various parts of the world. Cuba has been accused by the country which is whipping up the nuclear arms race and implementing a program in preparation for "Star Wars," unleashed a dirty war against Vietnam, crudely trampled on Grenada's independence, and is currently responsible for aggression against Nicaragua. Thanks, however, to the courageous stand taken by the representatives of Latin American countries at the Geneva session, he noted, the United States' base designs on Cuba have failed, which has provoked insane anger in Washington. The imperialists are enraged that our continent today is not what it was 30 years ago. They cannot understand the changes that have taken place or the steadfastness of the Latin American countries which refuse to join the dirty anti-Cuban campaign. One day the imperialists will understand the stupidity of their policy of threats and aggression against our country.

We do not advocate lasting enmity with the United States, F. Castro continued. Even if we one day succeed in living in peace with this country, we will not cease to strengthen our defense or forget for one second that our integrity and our existence have been made possible by our constant readiness for defense.

The Cuban people are proud of the young generation, F. Castro emphasized. He urged young people to work to even greater effect and put all their energy into the cause of revolution, socialism, and communism.

FURTHER REPORTAGE ON SHARIN'S BOLIVIA VISIT

FM101557 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 8 Apr 87 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Continues"]

[Text] Sucre, (Bolivia) 7 Apr -- The CPSU delegation headed by L.V. Sharin, member of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet deputy, and first secretary of the Amur CPSU Obkom, has arrived here. It is visiting the country at the invitation of the Communist Party of Bolivia Central Committee.

The delegation visited the republic's Supreme Court. A ceremonial session of the country's supreme legal organ was held in honor of the eminent guests.

Opening the session, Supreme Court Chairman Guillermo Caballero Saucedo declared that the Bolivian people value highly the Soviet peace initiatives, which meet the interests of all mankind. G. Caballero Saucedo advocated the further development of the friendship and cooperation between Bolivia and the USSR in the political, trade, economic, and cultural spheres.

In his reply speech the head of the CPSU delegation noted that in the present nuclear age, when the threat of destruction hangs over people's lives, all states, regardless of their sociopolitical system, must participate actively in the struggle for peace and disarmament.

SOLIDARITY COMMITTEE ISSUES STATEMENT ON CHILE

LD061422 Moscow TASS in English 1404 GMT 6 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS -- The Soviet Latin American Peoples' Solidarity Committee and a number of prominent Soviet scientists and cultural personalities have protested the latest crackdown on the democratic opposition in Chile.

"The Pinochet regime has unleashed a fresh wave of terror and violence on Chilean people. Mass demonstrations for the restoration of democracy in that country are being ruthlessly suppressed," they said in a statement.

"Many hundreds of innocent people are behind bars. The leaders of trade unions, students, cultural workers, scientists and clergymen are systematically harassed and persecuted. The dictatorship's prisoners are tortured," they added.

"But the Chilean people have not been crushed." the statement continued.

"They are engaging in different kinds of struggle against the illegal regime. On February 25 a group of patriotically-minded political prisoners declared a hunger strike. They have since been joined by several more hundreds of inmates. Their lives are in danger.

"The usurpers of power in Chile, who are backed by Washington officialdom, practice genocide against their own people and flout all international standards and generally recognized morals.

"The conscience of mankind may not keep silent. The lawlessness and outrages on Chilean soil must be stopped. We urge all people of good will to raise their voice in solidarity with the Chilean people," the statement said.

TASS INTERVIEWS CHILEAN SOCIALIST PARTY LEADER

LD071340 Moscow TASS in English 1233 GMT 7 Apr 87

[Text] Buenos Aires April 7 TASS -- A TASS correspondent yesterday talked over the telephone with the banished general secretary of the Socialist Party of Chile, Clodomiro Almeyda.

The Chilean patriot was arrested by police and banished into the remote populated locality of Chili Chico, 1,500 kilometres south of Santiago, on returning home.

"One of the principal reasons why I have returned to Chile after 12 years in exile was the resolve to continue the struggle here for the right of every Chilean to live in the native land," Almeyda said.

"Formally, the regime denied me the right of travel in the country for 90 days. In effect, the authorities can extend the ban any time they choose."

Almeyda said that the dictatorship was going to accuse him of "defending terrorism and violence." At a trial, he said, "I will prove to the entire world that it is Pinochet who uses these criminal methods to suppress popular discontent.

While in exile, I draw strength from solidarity expressed by all honest people in Chile and abroad. Despite the regime's attempts to isolate me, I met many like-minded individuals and made many friends.

I daily feel moral support on the part of political, public and religious organisations in Chile and abroad."

AMBASSADOR TO COSTA RICA ON AID TO NICARAGUA

For a San Jose LA NACION interview with Ambassador to Costa Rica Yuriy Pavlov that discusses aid to Nicaragua, see the Costa Rica section of the 13 April Latin America DAILY REPORT.

KUDRYAVTSEV DISCUSSES USE OF URUGUAYAN PORT

For coverage of a meeting between First Deputy Minister of Fish Industry Nikolay Kudryavtsev and Uruguayan Foreign Minister Enrique Iglesias during which they discuss the use of the port in Montevideo, see the Uruguay section of the 10 April Latin America DAILY REPORT.

YELTSIN INTERVIEWED ON RESTRUCTURING ACCELERATION

LD1412Z44 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0835 GMT 14 Apr 87

["Boris Yeltsin: "Accelerating Restructuring" -- TASS Headline]

[Text] Moscow, 14 April (TASS) -- "At the present stage of restructuring, a correct assessment of its rate acquires fundamental significance," emphasized Boris Yeltsin, Moscow Gorkom first secretary.

The pioneering political and economic decisions which have already been adopted and which are being prepared, he said in an interview published today in the paper MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA, have naturally engendered great expectations and an aspiration to remove elements of stagnation and social corrosion more rapidly. The rate of restructuring will be determined by the actions of communists and nonparty members and of all supporters of restructuring. Obviously, the next 2 to 3 years -- the initial stage of the trajectory of acceleration -- are precisely the ones which require the maximum effort and the full application of strength.

We must be on our guard to prevent a repetition of the errors which were permitted in the past, the Moscow Gorkom first secretary stressed. The main thing is to develop democracy in every way possible. Without democratization in our lives, conceit and arbitrariness might raise their heads again and bureaucratism might flourish. Indifference and stagnation feed upon these.

Speaking abut Moscow's economic and social development, Boris Yeltsin noted that the plan for the first quarter has been fulfilled in almost all the major indicators. A significant margin has been attained in growth rates for labor productivity (3.7 percent) over the growth rates for production volume (2.9 percent). The progress of productivity growth is evidence that intensive factors are consistently, although slowly, paying off.

There are also changes in the degree of attention to the social sphere: For the first time, all rayons in the capital have fulfilled their tasks for bringing into service housing and social projects, including areas given over to commercial use. For example, 685,000 square meters of housing have been handed over, which is 36 percent more than in the previous year and which amounts to 21 percent of the annual task. This is only the groundwork. In order to implement the plans in our lives, we must add new dimensions in restructuring. We in the party committees, managers, and all Muscovites must do this, Boris Yeltsin stressed.

FALIN DISCUSSES REGIME'S POLICIES, SUPPORT

"Majority" Supports Reforms

PA2813Z3 [Editorial Report] Mexico City EXCELSIOR in Spanish on 24 March carries on pages 1-a, 29-a, and 33-a, a 2,000 word article datelined Moscow on an interview granted by CPSU Central Committee Member Valentin Mikhaylovich Falin by EXCELSIOR correspondent in Moscow Luis Suarez. Falin is described in the article as "one of the most influential advisers of Mikhail Gorbachev."

During the interview, Falin refers to recent reforms in the USSR and adds that "the majority of the Soviet people and party members" support them. He notes that the chief obstacle to accepting the reforms is in "people's minds" as people are reluctant to change their habits. On this matter he notes: "We must make people believe in change."

Regarding Western reaction to the reforms, he said that some groups flatly reject any Soviet initiative: Other groups view developments "within the framework of democracy in bourgeois countries"; and still other groups, which represent the majority, "view the changes with objectivity." Falin further explains that reforms do not pose danger to socialism as they "imply more socialism which means more democracy and greater openness [transparencia informativa]." Falin says he does not feel revealing flaws in Soviet society will affect relations with other communist parties because "the communist movement is becoming more mature with time." Communist parties "want us to tell the truth."

On the subject of economic reforms, Falin asserts that they do not imply a return to "private ownership." He added: "I am not afraid of them. I support that policy of development. I would like to stress that this is a matter of individual work which precludes exploitation by others."

The EXCELSIOR reporter asks Falin how the USSR feels economically, socially, and militarily compared to the United States. Falin replies that the USSR is "a little behind the United States in the economic sector." Militarily, since the 1970's there has been parity between the two countries, he said. As for social development, Falin stated that Soviets are "ahead."

Regarding the Soviet moratorium on nuclear testing, Falin says that "regrettably, the United States did not stop its nuclear tests. However, our proposal to ban them is still in effect. We are prepared to stop the testings any time." He added: "If we had not made the proposal, in the next 3 to 4 years no steps would have been taken to achieve disarmament."

In conclusion, Falin positively assessed the Reykjavik summit meeting, since "the elimination of nuclear arms in the next 10 years was successfully discussed." He then reiterated Gorbachev's invitation to President Ronald Reagan to another summit meeting. He says that international relations are not reduced to U.S.-USSR relations. However, many factors in the world depend on "the existence or the lack of honest mutually beneficial cooperation between the USSR and the United States. Therefore, we cannot accept the U.S. Administration's approach, as it artifically creates obstacles, complexities, and contentions in our meetings to justify the U.S. military plans. These plans are unnecessary because no one is threatening the United States."

Gorbachev Has 'Broad Support'

LD031747 Hamburg DPA in German 1455 GMT 3 Apr 87

[Text] Hamburg, (DPA) -- According to the former Soviet ambassador in Bonn, Valentin Falin, the reform policy of party leader Mikhail Gorbachev is meeting with broad support among the Soviet population. Falin said in an interview with the HAMBURGER MORGENPOST (Saturday Edition) that Gorbachev is receiving "enormous quantities of mail," which confirms that "he is enjoying an almost inconceivable level of support."

However, the current head of NOVOSTI did not exclude the possibility that a minority of the population still have a passive attitude. In the 40 years since the war, the Soviet citizens have somehow become accustomed "to everything coming from the state almost like a gift." Much needs to be done to bring in a consistent, strict achievement principle.

The interview was prereleased to DPA in edited form.

Sovereignty Theory Countered

LD011330 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1216 GMT 01 Apr 87

[Text] Bonn, April 1 (TANJUG) -- High Soviet official Valentin Falin indirectly dissociated himself from the so-called limited sovereignty theory, linked to Leonid Brezhnev's strategy toward East European countries.

In an interview to the West-German weekly STERN, to be printed in tomorrow's issue, Falin, answering the question on "Brezhnev's doctrine which served to justify Moscow's intervention in socialist countries, for example in Czechoslovakia in 1968", said that the Soviet Union has "long since outgrown the inclination to play censor to other socialist countries."

Falin also stated that reforms in the Soviet Union are not undertaken "abstractly -- for world socialism, but concretely -- for the Soviet Union."

The Soviet official, who ranks among the leading advisors to Mikhail Gorbachev, believes the process of reforms in his country can no longer [be] reversed.

RAZUMOVSKIY ON DEMOCRATIZATION, RESTRUCTURING

AU061656 Vienna VOLKSSTIMME in German 5 Apr 87 p 4

[Interview with Georgiy Razumovskiy, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and head of the CPSU delegation to the 26th KPOE Congress, by Erich Feichtinger in Vienna; date not given]

[Text] VOLKSSTIMME: Comrade Razumovskiy, one of the great catchwords in the USSR is "democratization." What is your attitude toward this, how do you assess it?

Razumovskiy: Further democratization is an inalienable part of the processes that are occurring in our country. It cannot be separated from restructuring and forms one of its most important components. Its role and importance are determined by the fact that, on the one hand, the largest possible expansion of democracy in all spheres of our country is an indispensable condition for finding practical solutions to the tasks with which the Soviet society is faced; and that, on the other hand, it is the best guarantee that the processes of favorable changes, which have started to develop in our country and are gaining strength in social life, will be followed to the very end.

Therefore, the issue at hand is: The faster and more consistent the line of democratization is followed everywhere, the faster will be the integration of the working people into managing the affairs of society and thus the entire process of restructuring.

New Laws Are Being Prepared [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: What is the role of self-administration in this?

Razumovskiy: Much is being done in our country to promote the principles of self-administration in the life of the work collectives, which give the feeling to every working person to have a say in his enterprise and which increase his interest in acceleration and restructuring. In this connection, the law on the state enterprises offers great opportunities. The same purpose is served by several other recent decisions.

One of the basic ways toward increasing social initiative and the working people's readiness for achievement is the further development and perfection of our elections and of the methods of nominating candidates to the office of people's deputies. Already during the next election campaign various approaches are to be tested, which will then be made the basis of the new election system and be firmly anchored in a relevant law.

VOLKSSTIMME: There are plans for changes in laws concerning various fields.

Razumovskiy: It is to be stressed that at present a number of documents are being prepared which are to create the legal basis for the course of further democratization. This work is done in public, in a transparent way, and with extremely active participation of the Soviet people. The most important draft laws are submitted to discussion by the entire people.

Furthermore, draft laws are being prepared which are aimed at expanding the opportunities for participation of all members of society in decisions on matters that are important for the state and at increasing the role of the public.

By the People for the People [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: What about the current laws?

Razumovskiy: There is also the task to make better use of the current laws and to work in the direction of increasing -- under the current conditions -- the participation of the Soviet people in management decisions, to develop social independence, and to make the work of the trade unions and of all social organizations more active.

Everything happening in the socialist state is done by the people for the people. It is only natural that for this purpose the people have to be well informed. Therefore, increasing publicity to the highest possible level, which is currently being done in our country, is an indispensable element of democratization in public life.

VOLKSSTIMME: How much progress has been made in restructuring?

Razumovskiy: Our society's course of restructuring cannot be reversed -- this was clearly proved by the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum. At the same time we are very much aware of the fact that society is only at the beginning of the path, if we look at the final goals and the tasks of restructuring. The most important issues are still ahead of us. The process of restructuring is developing, is gaining in intensity, and is deepening. This is the most important thing.

VOLKSSTIMME: What aim does the law on state enterprises, which you mentioned, have?

New Possibilities for Development [subhead]

Razumovskiy: In a few words, the law on state enterprises, whose draft is currently being discussed in our country, reflects the party's economic strategy under the current conditions, opens up new possibilities for the accelerated development of the economy and the development of the social programs, and makes it possible to perfect planning, style, and methods of economic management. It considerably increases independence and responsibility of the work collectives, organizes their activities on the stable basis of economic cost accounting, and is of great importance for the development and strengthening of democracy in production.

VOLKSSTIMME: What changes does the law introduce?

Razumovskiy: It envisages, among other things, that the staff assemblies and the councils of the work collectives receive comprehensive powers with regard to solving questions of production, social matters, and cadre issues.

Election of Managers [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: For what functions are managers elected?

Razumovskiy: Election of enterprise managers as well as managers of enterprise departments, production and foremen's sections [Meisterbereich], livestock breeding installations, brigades, and work groups will be introduced; the method of putting managers and skilled workers in their positions by a system of competition is to be applied to an increasing degree. Control of their work by members of the work collectives will be increased. The people must be sure there is a person at the top of their collective who is able to manage his sphere of responsibility under the conditions of economic cost accounting in such a way that he ensures a final result which would have a positive effect on the income and welfare of each employee even by taking into account state interests.

Discussed by All the People [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: There have already been elections in individual cases.

Razumovskiy: Yes, I would like to note that the election of managers is generally spreading at all levels. This method is positively assessed by the Soviet media and is fully supported by them.

The popular discussion on this draft has become a great political event in our society's life. It is evaluated in practically every work collective. The people's representative bodies and the editorial offices receive many letters in this connection. All proposals are carefully summarized and evaluated by a special commission.

More Control of Management Cadres [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: The January plenum dealt with cadre issues. What are the basic ideas set down there?

Razumovskiy: The most important idea, the central idea, of the plenum consists in creating -- on the basis of the consistent democratization of public life -- reliable preconditions for considerable influence of the working people on the selection of cadres and on the control of the cadres' work. It is necessary to apply everywhere the principle of election to promote a person to the position of manager, and also make the managers' accountability reports to their collectives or to the population a regular event.

In this respect the collectives receive the right to evaluate the work of these managers up to the demand that those employees who do not meet the requirements of their tasks or who have compromised themselves by undignified behavior are removed from their managing position.

All managers are faced with being subjected to a serious examination, namely an examination in democracy and transparency. This is an examination held by life itself, and examination in political maturity, in gaining the trust of the people, in one's competence, and in the feeling of responsibility with regard to fulfilling one's tasks.

VOLKSSTIMME: What are the criteria under which managers are now elected?

Razumovskiy: If we talk about the decisive criterium in judging the cadres, it is, as the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum noted, the attitude toward restructuring, toward the tasks of accelerating the social and economic development, and the real deeds for their implementation. They are a yardstick for the political and civic attitude of each employee.

In the revolutionary period of restructuring the deep awareness of the need for restructuring, the uncompromising and consistent commitment to its implementation, great energy, and self-sacrificing work to achieve the set targets are necessary in addition to great professional skills.

Raising the Political Culture [subhead]

VOLKSSTIMME: Are there still other requirements?

Razumovskiy: The CPSU considers it one of its most important tasks ot put into practice comprehensive measures to raise the political culture of the cadres, to enable them to work effectively and to instruct the people under the conditions of comprehensive democracy and publicity.

Under the present conditions moral health of the cadres and personality traits, such as modesty, honesty, and moral perfection, are absolutely necessary in practically every area. They must be a model of ideological steadfastness and unswerving observance of party and state discipline.

VOLKSSTIMME: Thank you very much for this interview.

Razumovskiy: In conclusion I would like to convey to all Austrian Communists fraternal militant greetings from the Communists in the Soviet Union, and to wish them great success in implementing the decisions of the 26th KPOE Congress in the struggle for the interests of the workers class, for peace, and for understanding among the peoples; I would also like to assure them that at any time they will have reliable allies, who share solidarity with them in their struggle, in the Communists of the Soviet Union.

PRAVDA'S AFANASYEV ON GORBACHEV POLICY

AU081123 Rome ANSA in English 1100 GMT 8 Apr 87

[Text] (ANSA) Rome -- Recent changes in Soviet internal policy and in the press came under scrutiny in an interview with Viktor Afanasyev, the editor-in-chief of the Soviet party daily, PRAVDA, published in Tuesday's edition of the Milanese daily IL GIORNO.

"I do not know how long it will take, perhaps ten or fifteen years, but this perestroyka will take place", Afanasyev asserted when asked about the reforming policies of Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

According to PRAVDA's director, Gorbachev is "a man who knows how to listen and never interrupts anyone, even though there are many people who deserve to be interrupted".

"He accepts suggestions, ideas, proposals; he is a very democratic man, but he is tough, strong, and intelligent. He has decided to carry out this policy, and he will succeed."

Asked who the enemies of Gorbachev's policies are, Afanasyev said "resistance comes mainly from the bureaucratic system. Our enemies are conservatism and bureaucracy".

He went on to blame the Soviet Union's past problems on Parkinson's law, where paper breeds more paper. "The Soviet Union is too big a country to be completely controlled from the centre", he said. "A few days ago, Gorbachev told a meeting of the Politburo that he would halve the bureaucratic system, and he will do it, I know he will do it, even if it proves very difficult".

Turning to the changing role of the press under Gorbachev's rule, Afanasyev said that the Soviet leader pays a lot of attention to the media and gives general directives, but leaves the rest for individual editors to decide.

PRAVDA's readership has increased by one and a half million in the last eighteen months "because now we really tell the truth," he added in reference to his newspaper's name Russian for "truth".

Describing the changes which have taken place within the paper itself, Afanasyev said: "We talk about sensitive issues, we give space to arguments and debates, and above all we try to listen to the people, to involve them, to make them understand that their opinions count".

To prove that these changes were having an effect, Afanasyev checked his computer just before the interview. "Last year we received 600,022 letters", he announced proudly.

Answers TV Viewers' Questions

LD121150 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1320 GMT on 11 April carries a 30-minute "Replies to Viewers' Questions" program, conducted by PRAVDA chief editor Viktor Grigoryevich Afanasyev. He opens the program by pointing out that he has received many letters concerning negative phenomena in Soviet society. He continues: "I will begin today's discussion with an angry and sharp letter from Ivan Ivanovich Shein, Voronezh Oblast, station Talovaya -- the street and house number are given.

He says that much of our plight stems from papers -- PRAVDA in particular -- which, during many years, have been engaged in endless glorification, as he puts it, and in cringing to upper ranks. The uppermost ranks have been singled out into an elite within the Party, which takes its origin in Moscow, the goal of this elite being personal enrichment, and so on. He says that true communists have become extinct, and only party members remain.

Afanasyev responds: "Well, first of all, there were, indeed, ostentation and sensationalism in our country; successes were exaggerated while shortcomings were passed over in silence. All this has taken place, it is true, but this was directly, clearly, and in a principled manner, discussed at the 27th party congress, in subsequent speeches by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, in party plenum documents, and in conferences on various issues.

"Comrade Shein writes that nobody should be blamed for our faults: The party has committed them and this must be boldly admitted. Dear Comrades, the party is not blaming anybody for the flaws that we still have, for mistakes and errors."

Afanasyev goes on to quote from Gorbachev's report at the 27th congress on the existence of mistakes, and says that restructuring is aiming precisely at the elimination of shortcomings. "However", he continues, "I cannot agree with Comrade Shein's statement that there are no more true communists in the Party, and only members remain, led by an elite, as he puts it. Our party is large. By the beginning of last year there were over 19 million members. Of those, 45 percent were workers; 12.8 percent farmers; and 43.2 percent official personnel. Over the last 5 years the number of workers in the party has increased by 983,000. Among office personnel, the main number work directly in production. Of office personnel who are party members, 42.2 percent work in the national economy as engineers, technicians, agricultural specialists; 23 percent work in science, education, health service, literature and art; 4.1 percent are engaged in services, while leaders account for as little as 9.7 percent, including senior and junior leaders. They include leaders of organizations, institutions, enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes and sovkhozes, and leaders of departments within the framework of enterprises and farms. This means that out of this number, a considerable proportion work directly in material production."

Afanasyev goes on to say that without doubt, the overwhelming majority of these people are true communists and not just party members; and they work honestly side by side with non-party members. He says that he has met many leaders and managers, and can say that he does not envy their positions as they face immense demands and are charged with enormous responsibilities. He continues: "One cannot envy these people and they cannot be regarded as an elite. Elite is a category unsuitable for our socialist society. I think one need not even talk about it. Of course, we do not have unwarranted levelling [uravnilovka], we do not have full equality in material prosperity: some people earn more because they have better qualifications and high education; there is a category of highly-paid workers, there are ministers...[pauses] it often happens that a worker earns more than a minister. That is why such a criterion for dividing people into elite and nonelite by their salaries would not work, no more than any other measure.

"However, there are people in the party, as well as among non-party members, who by their professional, personal or moral qualities do not correspond to our society's requirements; they violate moral standards, engage in mark-ups, eyewashing, suppressing criticism, sometimes even commit real crimes, take bribes, engage in personal enrichment. This is a very small and insignificant proportion of people, and the party is conducting a severe struggle against them."

Afanasyev turns to the issue of bureaucracy by outlining the main features of this phenomenon, and quoting viewers' letters. He notes: "There are many letters about bureaucracy; the number sent to PRAVDA, perhaps, is second only to that about apartments, in what concerns everyday, human problems." He expands on the subject of how red tape hampers the introduction of inventions, giving several examples and calling on people to oppose this. He suggests introducing direct links between organizations and branches through reducing state machinery, and the extensive introduction of electronic and computer devices to speed up and simplify information processes. He points out that the party conducts a severe struggle against all antisocial phenomena and is aided by the media in this.

Afanasyev continues: "You have, perhaps, seen, read, or heard about the report by the USSR Public Prosecutor's Office and an article in PRAVDA entitled "Beyond the Last Border," which reported on violation of party ethics and socialist legality in Voroshilovgrad Oblast. In this connection we have received piles of letters, letters to PRAVDA, to the radio and television. I will quote only one, a letter from Comrade Vysokosov, from the town of Orel. He writes: As to my attitude to the perpetrators of that thoroughly planned action -- and the question both in the decision of the Prosecutor's office and in the PRAVDA article was about an unlawful arrest of a journalist following his critical articles in the press -- I will put it straightforwardly, the letter's author writes. Their actions cannot be qualified as dereliction of duty, though it often happens like this. These are not dereliction, not cover resistance to the changes that have been taking place in the party and the country since the 27th CPSU Congress, but it is a brazen challenge or, if you like, a bayonet charge on restructuring, openness and democracy." Afanasyev stressed that there are people who resist restructuring, and do so quite deliberately.

Going over to the issue of the sources of antisocial phenomena in the country, Afanasyev again quotes from Shein's letter: "Academicians engaged themselves in florid speculation, trying to justify our shortcomings. You looked pathetic when you referred to remnants of capitalism. It is time to forget this tune as it only aggravates our errors, stupidity and bungling, he writes." Afanasyev reminds him about people who live in harmony with their conscience, yet agrees to the existence of bungling in the country today. Afanasyev says: "Take Chernobyl for example. Our people showed instances of ultimate heroism and courage there -- recently a large group were awarded orders of Hero of the Soviet Union and Hero of Socialist Labor -- yet, at the same time, it is the result of bungling, the result of careless attitude to one's duties, the result of a kind of negligence and disorder which, regrettably, still occur in the country. This is what many of our viewers write about with worry and concern. They write that referring to remnants is in itself a remnant." He cites other letters on the same issue, and concludes by calling on everyone to increase their efforts in finding ways to a better future.

MOSCOW NEWS EDITOR YAKOVLEV VIEWS ROLE

PM071120 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 2 Apr 87 p 13

[Interview with MOSCOW NEWS Editor Yegor Yakovlev by Alberto Jacoviello in Moscow -- date not given, first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Moscow -- "You must understand that some thing is happening in this country which has never before happened in history: The political authorities are encouraging the press to throw off its shackles and the press is hesitating to do so because it is not ready." This statement was made by Yegor Yakovlev, editor of MOSCOW NEWS, the weekly which published the dissidents' letter in which the invasion of Czechoslovakia was described as a "crime" and the current Soviet Government accused of sending young soldiers to exterminate civilians in Afghanistan.

He received me in his office in Pushkin Square and we talked for 1 hour. He is a young, energetic, straightforward man who does not look like a Soviet at all. Wearing a well-cut suit, a tasteful necktie, and a crew cut, he could be taken for the editor of an American newspaper. At all events, he talks with the same freedom and fluency. Since he has been editor of MOSCOW NEWS, it has become almost impossible to obtain a copy of the weekly. There is always a small crowd of people in front of the newspaper display case in Pushkin Square reading it, and they are never disappointed: It always contains something interesting and unexpected. Some 1 million copies are sold, of which 300,000 are in the Russian language, and the rest in English, French, and Spanish.

[Jacoviello] Can you explain what you said in more detail? Is it true that the political authorities are encouraging the press to speak more freely and that the press is hesitating because it is not ready to do so?

[Yakovlev] Yes, it is true. I will give you two examples. Some time ago, I and a large group of journalists were received by Moscow Party Secretary Yeltsin. We talked for several hours. We then went away and nobody published anything. I, however, printed an account which filled a whole page. Do you know what happened the next day? Many of my colleagues who were with me when we met with Yeltsin phoned me to ask who had given me permission to do so. Nobody had given me permission.

[Jacoviello] Did you hear from Yeltsin?

[Yakovlev] No, not a word. The other example I would like to give you relates to Gorbachev himself. There was also a long meeting with him which many journalists attended. The next day the other newspapers only published a short TASS report. I again printed a full-page report. I received the usual phone calls from colleagues who wanted to know whether Gorbachev had given me permission.

[Jacoviello] Surely you are not telling me that you made the decision to publish the dissidents' letter....

[Yakovlev] That is exactly what I am saying. It was my decision. You will understand that it was not an easy decision but I made it in my capacity as editor of the newspaper.

[Jacoviello] Does this mean Gorbachev knew nothing about it until he read MOSCOW NEWS?

[Yakovlev] I do not know whether Mikhail Gorbachev reads MOSCOW NEWS. If he reads it, I think things were as you suppose.

[Jacoviello] Have you received criticism?

[Yakovlev] I have received a great deal of support from the readers. There has been some criticism.

[Jacoviello] What kind of criticism?

[Yakovlev] I was criticized, for instance, for using too conversational a style in my reply. Just the other evening I attended a meeting of propagandists. Some of them criticized the tone of my reply. I told them that it is time to abandon intemperate language. Civilized people should have civilized discussions. I think I can say that the people who listened to me, agreed. Then there are readers' letters. They are pouring in.

Most express support but some express criticism of the kind I mentioned. There are discussions in front of the newspaper display cases and in this issue I publish a report on those discussions.

[Jacoviello] Have you had any comment from the letter's signatories?

[Yakovlev] Not directly. Many of their friends here have come to tell me that I was right to publish their letter and to reply in the way I did. They added that the ball is now in their court.

[Jacoviello] Do you know any of the dissidents personally?

[Yakovlev] I was a close friend of Lyubimov. He is a talented man and I helped him to become director of the Taganka Theater. I knew Aksenov and, unfortunately, also Maksimov.

[Jacoviello] Why do you say unfortunately?

[Yakovlev] Because Maksimov is not a man who is easy to tolerate. He was always either drunk or recovering from a bout of drunkenness, which is even worse. I say this because it is well known to all those who knew him.

[Jacoviello] Were you sorry that Lyubimov and Aksenov left?

[Yakovlev] Yes I was sorry. They were my friends and they are talented men.

[Jacoviello] Do you think they will return?

[Yakovlev] No, I do not think so. In this connection, I would like to make an announcement. In a few days time we will have a meeting here at the newspaper offices with Shatrov, the writer, theater director Yefremov, and journalist (Lakacin) and other friends from our youth to decide our attitude toward the letter's signatories. MOSCOW NEWS will publish an account of the meeting. I think that the title will be "One-way Ticket."

[Jacoviello] People tell me that you can afford to take such liberties because you are Gorbachev's friend.....

[Yakovlev] I have never seen him in my life other than on official occasions. However, I am well acquainted with other party and state leaders — Ligachev for instance. This is also true of Yakovlev to whom I am not related, despite having the same name. No, the problem is not one of friendship. As I said before, the problem is that we are living through a unique period in history — a period in which many journalists are lagging behind the political leadership. However, I would like to add that the newspapers' task is not easy at present. We must consider all aspects of the situation and not merely criticize everything and everybody in a superficial way. In this country we have an extensive bureaucracy which is often lazy and inept. We must carefully reckon with this situation. We cannot act as we did in 1937 when all those who were out of favor could be eliminated. Those are horrors which we do not want to repeat.

[Jacoviello] If you were PRAVDA editor, would you publish what you publish in MOSCOW NEWS?

[Yakovlev] Allow me to say that am not fanciful enough to imagine myself as PRAVDA editor.

[Jacoviello] In short, if I understand you correctly, you think the liberties you take as MOSCOW NEWS editor do not create problems for you with the political authorities.

[Yakovlev] Absolutely not. Of course there may be people who are annoyed by the newspaper I edit. They have not yet shown themselves.

[Jacoviello] I note that your newspaper is coming under fire, as are other publications like OGONEK, because of the excessive liberties they are taking. In the latest issue of LITERATURNAYA ROSSIYA, I saw a report on the meeting of the Russian writers' union. Some of those writers accused newspapers like yours of going too far in their criticism of the past, of creating a worrying and alarming situation, and of not having much respect for Soviet society's achievements. These strike me as serious accusations. Do they not worry you?

[Yakovlev] Not only do they not worry me, but I have already replied to them. Here is this morning's edition of MOSCOW NEWS. There is an article entitled "Intolerance" which tells you everything. I know that OGONEK is preparing to reply too. I have also been informed that around 50 writers have expressed their disagreement with what was said in the meeting to which you referred.

[Jacoviello] Do you think important Soviet literary figures like Sergey Mikhalkov and Yuriy Bondarev are adopting such a stance without support from a higher authority?

[Yakovlev] They will certainly have had that. They were the heralds of a different time and it is natural that they should find support and encouragement.

[Jacoviello] Enough to allow them to come into the open?

[Yakovlev] I must tell you this is a positive thing. There is no need to fear them coming out into the open. Underground resistance is much more dangerous. It is always possible to have discussions with people like Mikhalkov and Bondarev. It is much more difficult to have discussions with people who hide. The latter represent the real danger. It is understandable that innovation frightens members of the older generation to the extent that some writers at the meeting you mentioned said that the "national values of Russian culture are now under siege and require the kind of defense that was mounted in Stalingrad." This is nonsense. The truth is that a battle is being fought in our country between those who want to innovate and those who want to conserve. I think that the innovators will win.

[Jacoviello] Are you sure of that?

[Yakovlev] I hope so. In any case the innovative forces are very broad, extensive, and strong. The important thing is to fight well and to try to conduct this struggle in a democratic way. [Yakovlev ends]

That is the essence of what Egor Yakovlev said to me in his first interview to an Italian journalist after the publication of the dissidents' letter. I have now met with many men like him, from ZNAMYA's editor to IZVESTIYA's assistant editor, from [illegible]'s editor to actor Ulyanov, from writer Aytmatov to sociologist Shchekochikin.

OFFICIAL OUTLINES STATUS OF RELIGIOUS BODIES

PM090929 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Apr 87 Morning Edition p 2

[Unnamed correspondent interview with K.M. Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs, under the rubric "From Competent Sources": "Freedom of Conscience and the Law"; first two grafs are unattributed introduction]

[Text] It is a well-known fact that the USSR Constitution guarantees citizens freedom of conscience, that is, the right to profess any religion or not to profess any at all. This civil right is strictly observed. There are also conflicts, of course, and certain issues are raised. We also received letters, albeit rarely, from believers who feel their rights are sometimes restricted.

In this connection our IZVESTIYA correspondent asked K.M. Kharchev, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Council for Religious Affairs, to answer a few questions.

[Correspondent] Does the right to form a religious society extend to evangelical Christians and people known as "Pentacostalists"?

[Kharchev] All believers are equal in the eyes of the law, regardless of their domination. Consequently, "Pentacostalists" can form a religious society like any other group of believers. To do this, they must submit an application to register their society to the soviet ispolkom following the established legal procedure and then organize the activity of their religious society in accordance with their dogma and statute. The sole requirement made by the law in this respect is that the performance of religious rites must not damage the health of the believer and the propagation of the dogma in question must not be used to the detriment of the state, that is, it must not call for believers to refuse to do their civic duty.

[Correspondent] Are children forbidden to attend prayer meetings?

[Kharchev] Legislition on religious rites contain no such prohibition. Children and adolescents can attend a house of prayer and take part in prayer meetings. The religious education of children is permitted within the family with the consent of both parents. However, all this must be done voluntarily and with the consent of the children themselves; coercion or force with regard to the freedom of conscience of a child or adolescent is inadmissible.

[Correspondent] What is the purpose of registration organs' right to remove any believer from the executive organ of a religious society? Why has the practice of registering priests been introduced at all? Does it not constitute state interference in the affairs of a religious society?

[Kharchev] Registration certainly does not signify interference in matters of conscience. Ispolkoms register many organizations totally unconnected with religion. With regard to removing members of an executive organ, this kind of situation rarely arises -- and only when a person committing acts flagrantly in violation of legislation on religious rites is found to be a member of an executive organ. This right is exercised on the basis of a justified decision. In this respect the state does not interfere in the canonical, strictly religious sphere of believers' activity. The same must be said of the established procedure of registering priests, the sole aim of which is to give them state recognition and offer them the protection of the law.

[Correspondent] The provision on religious associations states that a priest only has the right to fulfill his functions in the society (or societies) in which he was elected or appointed. Surely it is church tradition to send authoritative priests to other churches to resolve complex issues. What is the position with this restriction?

[Kharchev] If the need arises to visit another church and exert an influence on the situation there, the leaders of religious centers and their local representatives have a legal right to do this. They can also involve ordinary priests in this matter, after agreeing their decision in accordance with the established procedure.

SHIPWRECK TRIAL INDICATIVE OF SOCIETAL LAXITY

AU081448 Kiev PRAVDA UKRAINY in Russian 1 Apr 87 p 1

[RATAU special correspondent report: "Eradicating Carelessness and Placidity"]

[Text] The trial of V.I. Tkachenko and V.G. Markov, former shippers guilty of a shipwrech as a result of which, on 31 August 1986, the passenger steamship "Admiral Nakhimov" sank off Novorossiysk and heavy losses in human lives incurred, has ended in Odessa. The case was examined at an open session of the USSR Supreme Court's branch for criminal affairs presided over by A.M. Filatov, bench chairman.

The country's supreme judicial body examined each episode of the tragedy at sea for more than 2 weeks. It thoroughly and impartially investigated the causes of the crime and the conditions which contributed toward its perpetration.

The court examination was held in an atmosphere of wide democracy and openness. Among these who expressed the wish to participate in the trial were 269 victims, as well as relatives and close friends of those who died. Each of then had an opportunity, on equal terms with the court members, to question representatives of the prosecution and the defense, experts, and to entreat the court. Many of them made use of this right. No a single inquirty was refused, and not a single entreaty was declined. This atmosphere made it possible to reproduce every detail of the catastrophe, and to reveal its causes. Present at the court session were representatives of the public and of the mass media.

In the course of the preliminary investigation, the materials of which amounted to 55 volumes, and of the court examination, the guilt of the defendants was proved beyond any dispute. The court found that, as skippers, as leaders of the crews, and as state agenets responsible for the safety of navigation of the people on board and of freight, both of them grossly violated many navigation safety regulations, which resulted in a grave crime. This was a direct result of negligence, of disregard for official duties, and of indiscipline.

These in the dock, L.P. Baranov, senior assistant to the USSR prosecutor general, said in his indictment, there are also extreme manifestations of irresponsibility, laxity, and disorder -- pernicious phenomena uncompromisingly fought at present by the Communist Party and all Soviet people who vigorously establish order, good organization, and discipline in our life. This idea was also emphasized by the public prosecutor, V.S. Treguba, skipper of the ferry "Geroi Shipki." Speaking on behalf of skippers of the Black Sea Steamship Line, he pointed out that thousands of crews of merchant and passenger ships were working hard at all latitudes of the world oceans, and with their toil, irreproachable compliance with statutory requirements and international regulations, with their loyalty to the laws of the maritime comradeship, they have won high prestige for the Soviet Maritime Fleet. [paragraph continues]

The catastrophe off Novorossiysk is a bitter lesson for all. It has confirmed that even the slightest deviation from valid regulations and official obligations led in the end to a crime. This must not be repeated.

The USSR Supreme Court found Viktor Ivanovich Tkachenko, former skipper of the dry cargo ship "Petr Vasev," and Vadim Georgiyevich Markov, former skipper of the steamship "Admiral Nakhimov," guilty of the crime covered by Part 1 of Article 85 of the RSFSR Criminal Code and, taking into account the particular gravity of the perpetrated crime and the very grave consequences of the tragedy, sentenced them to 15 years of imprisonment each. The court ruled that each of them be fined R40,000 in compensation for the material damage they caused the state. The sentence is final and not subject to appeal.

Those present in the hall received the sentence with satisfaction.

The court did not confine itself to determining the extent of the guilt and the measure of punishment for the direct culprits of the loss of the steamship "Admiral Nakhimov." During the trial, the sharp question of how Tkachenko and Markov, people whose businesslike and personal qualities did not meet the high requirements presented to skippers, could have held such high and responsible posts was asked. A special ruling was addressed to the USSR Ministry of Maritime Fleet (with Yu.M. Volmer, minister). It called attention to shortcomings in the cadre work performed by the ministry's organs, and in the ministry's technical policy.

The court set apart for special legal proceeding materials concerning shortcomings in the activity of the Novorossiysk Emergency and Rescue Service (ASPTR) under the Black Sea Steamship Line, whose boats arrived late in the area of the catastrophe.

The participants in the trial and representatives of the wide public evaluated the sentence passed by the country's supreme judicial body as a reminder for everyone, irrespective of the high post he or she may hold, of the need to strictly and scrupulously discharge the obligations put on him or her. This formulation of the question stems directly from the decisions of the 27th party congress and the CPSU Central Committee January 1987 Plenum on increasing exactingness, discipline, good organization, and order in all spheres of our life.

The trial in Odessa concentrated public opinion on a whole number of problems which now had been placed in the center of work performed to restructure our society. Above all, these are problems concerning the selection, education, and distribution of cadres.

"As the court established, the maritime catastrophe off Novorossiysk was a result of blatant violations of binding regulations and instructions by navigators, of the latters' self-reliance and inefficiency at a critical moment," Captain G. Cherkasov, chief of a unit of the Naval Search and Rescue Service and one of the experts at the trial, said. "In our age of accelerating technical progress, the human factor not only does not fade into the background, but on the contrary, its role is increasing everywhere, including on sea routes. The case of the former skippers of a passenger steamship and a dry cargo ship has shown that much more attention has to be paid to the cultivation among specialists of the qualities necessary for leaders of labor collectives."

The opinion of the expert has to be accepted. However, the question has to be posed more amply. Negligence, indifference, disregard for one's direct obligations, lack of initiative when it is needed, and inability to think in a non-standard manner and to act in a complex situation are a serious malady rooted in the not too distant past. This applies to those who steer a ship or run a shop, who drive a train or organize the labor process at a labor site.

An operation performed by a machine tool operator with disregard for technological discipline, and a substandard product accepted by an inspector and overlooked by an assembler are not simply poor workmanship; they frequently harbor a threat to society, including human health and lives. No one must forget this even for a second.

The growing capacities and speed of machines, machine tools, lines, and devices also increase the price of any error or miscalculation. In this sphere, there must be no room for carelessness and placidity against which we run, unfortunately, too often, and not only in the sphere of production.

A man in a hurry considers it trivial to cross the street at a wrong place and time or to disregard the red lights. A passenger comfortably sitting in a plane is slow to abide by safety regulations and to tighten the belt.

Infringements begin from small things, but each of them leads to the relaxation of reasonable and strict public discipline which we need at present so badly everywhere. This was reminded by the trial in Odessa, by the detailed and thorough scrutiny of the causes of the catastrophe, and by the sorrow which has remained in the hearts of the Soviet people as an aftermath of it.

COMMENTATOR SHISHLIN ON NEW CULTURAL OPENNESS

LD091350 Moscow World Service in English 1610 GMT 8 Apr 87

[Nikolay Shishlin commentary]

[Text] An honest opinion of the artist guided by high civic responsibility has always been heard in the USSR. The current moral atmosphere in Soviet society is characterized by a profound interpretation by the people of the nation's history, a bold search for solutions to new as well as some old problems, and a clear-cut policy of encouraging openness, criticism and self-criticism. We believe in the advantages and merits of the socialist way of development and our faith in it stems from our own experience and world socialist experience as well. This does not mean however that Soviet society turns a deaf ear to all that is outside that experience. We want to communicate with the best humanitarian and scientific achievements. The (?oppositions) in socialist and capitalist social systems naturally presupposes a competition between them, but that competition should be a peaceful one, because that is an imperative demand of this nuclear day and age. This calls for new interpretation of many aspects of relations between them. One thing that must surely be abandoned is the cultivation of an image of the enemy designed to blind, frustrate mutual understanding and fuel dangerous tension in international relations. This is one part of what is taking place in the USSR today. All that is related to domestic affairs is no less important.

It would be difficult to name another period in this country's postrevolutionary history marked by such a diversity of artistic life. The relationship between creative artists and those who can be described as the bureaucrats of art can hardly be a harmonious one. A true artist is always ahead of his time, and the bureaucrat is committed to the past and present. The creative artist has won a victory in this country and one sign of that victory are the changes taking place in the unions of film makers, writers and other creative associations.

The publishing houses accept and publish manuscripts that have been shelved for years. Literary journals have increased their circulation because they carry works bound to attract wide public interest in every issue. Films that have been shelved through the fault of the bureaucrats have been screened. Among them are Gleb Panfilov's (?Theme), Highway Checks by Aleksey German and The Agony by Elem Klimov, who has been elected chairman of the Filmmakers' Union. The films of Andrey Tarkovskiy, who recently died in Paris, have been shown again in movie theaters throughout the country. Plays imbued with lofty civic sentiments, intolerant of falsehood and half-truths, have been staged. Rock groups that have had to fight for the right to exist are giving concerts. The dramatic upsurge of creative activity is organically bound to the process of renewal and it feeds back in to that process a wakening civic sentiment.

The story of the memorial to be erected in Moscow to the victory of the Soviet people over Nazi Germany is highly significant. In spite of that fact that a competition for the best project was announced, the actual decision making was (?parochial.) At any rate the project was not displayed to the public before work on it began. When models of the monument were made public there was an outcry. An open competition was announced, and many projects were considered and rejected. The competition will continue until an absolute winner emerges. Another case in point is the plans that were drawn up some time ago for redirecting part of the run-off of northern rivers to the south of the country. The plans were made by technocrats who believed that there is plenty of water on the north and a shortage of water in the south, and decided to correct what they saw as a mistake of nature. Their plans have been rejected, not least because of pressure from the public.

Now, these two examples show that openness, or glasnost as we call it here, is not merely an opportunity to form an opinion, but also an opportunity to act in keeping with it and involve broad sections of the public in that action. An important feature of public life in the country today is greater interest in history. The works of Russian thinkers and historians of the 18th, 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries are published in new editions. Books by Russian authors who spent most of their lives in foreign lands are published widely. Among them are Vladimir Nabokov, Vladislav Khodasevich and some other writers. Cultural values are returning to the spiritual and cultural treasury of the nation. The stability and the irreversible nature of the process of renewal in this country are the result of a fresh interpretation of the entire historical experience of the nation, complete with success and setbacks, merits and shortfalls. The process of renewal is directed by the Communist Party and its Central Committee, but it would be wrong to assume that what is taking place in this country is reforms directed from above. These reforms have been prompted by the public in large measure, thanks to the arts that reflect and record the hopes, doubts, joys and disappointments of the people. In its search for the right path toward renewal Soviet society does not concentrate on getting even with the past. The present and future are in the focus of attention. We do not idealize the situation today, far from it. First steps down the road of revolutionary renewal have been taken and we will continue our progress confidently.

CPSU'S LUKYANOV ATTENDS COSMONAUTICS DAY MEETING

LD110216 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 10 Apr 87

[Text] Today a ceremonial meeting took place in the Central Academic Theater of the Soviet Army devoted to Cosmonautics Day. Comrade Lukyanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, the managers of a number of ministries and departments, well-known Soviet scientists, designers, USSR pilot-cosmonauts, and representatives of workers' collectives were in the presidium.

Academician Kotelnikov, vice-president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, chairman of the Intercosmos Council, delivered a report. He said in particular: The development of wide-scale peaceful cooperation in the sphere of outer space research with the participation of all states is a sensible alternative to the plans to spread the arms race to outer space.

PETROSYANTS CALLS FOR THERMONUCLEAR INSTALLATION

LD091511 Moscow TASS in English 1436 GMT 9 Apr 87

[Text] Moscow April 9 TASS -- Andranik Petrosyants, chairman of the USSR State Committee for the Use of Nuclear Energy, has expressed the supposition in a TASS interview that an experimental thermonuclear installation can be created by the end of the current century.

He said that he had been driven to this conclusion by the accomplishments made in the sphere of thermonuclear rsearch in the USSR, as well as in the West European countries, the U.S. and Japan, specifically, the obtaining of plasma with an electronic temperature of 90 million degrees in the Tokamak-10 installation at the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy of Moscow.

"This is the highest temperature of electrons that has ever been reached at a thermonuclear installation. It is sufficient for the functioning of a thermonuclear reactor of Tokamak whose construction on an international basis is proposed by the Soviet Union", Petrosyants said.

Andranik Petrosyants recalled that in 1978 the USSR had suggested to the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) that several countries should pool their efforts for jointly creating a thermonuclear reactor and conducting research with the help of it. Physical substantiation was worked out and a drawing was made of the international Tokamak-reactor (INTOR). It is to demonstrate that it is possible in principle to create a thermonuclear power plant.

In the opinion of Petrosyants, there is a possibility today to start the technical designing of INTOR which will last some four years. A little more time will be needed for its construction. On the proposal of the USSR scientists from the Soviet Union, the U.S. and France are considering practical steps for the development and construction of the reactor and are keeping IAEA informed of their work. Japan and other western countries are joining this proposal.

Petrosyants pointed out that the implementation of this ambitious project would be very difficult from the engineering point of view. One of the difficulties will be the creation of special materials for the walls of the reactor.

MARSHAL KULIKOV ON EQUALITY IN FORCE REDUCTIONS

LD111515 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1340 GMT 11 Apr 87

[Text] Zagreb, April 11 (TANJUG) -- Generally speaking, the Warsaw Pact has no advantage over NATO, Commander-in-Chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces Marshal Viktor Kulikov said in an interview to the ZAGREB DANAS magazine. The Soviet marshal's exclusive interview will be published in the magazine's next issue on Monday.

According to Kulikov, an approximate equilibrium exists between the two military alliances as far as conventional arms are concerned.

"Attempts are made in the West to create a myth about a Soviet military threat," he said. However, comparisons do not give a full picture of the true balance of power and human and other potentials of the other bloc, he noted.

As for the proposals to reduce arms in Europe, Marshal Kulikov said that the reductions proposed by the East related to Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals. He specified that the Soviet proposal included a significant reduction of all land forces and tactical aircraft of European states and those units of the United States and Canada stationed in Europe, as well as nuclear systems of operational-tactical importance not exceeding 1,000 km in range.

Kulikov said the Soviet side's first step was the proposal to reduce the number of Warsaw Pact and NATO troops by 100,000 to 150,000 on each side within one or two years.

"In the 1990's, we propose a further 25-percent reduction in land forces and tactical aircraft, i.e. a decrease of more than 500,000 troops on each side as compared to the present number," he said. In that context he underlined that the Warsaw Pact would not accept asymmetry, but that it required absolute equality in the reduction of forces on both sides.

Regarding a treaty on the removal of medium-range missiles from Europe, Kulikov noted that the Warsaw Pact had no advantage over the other military alliance where these missiles were concerned and that NATO had a wider selection of artillery weapons from which missiles with nuclear charges could be launched.

He also expressed a wish to meet with his NATO counterpart, U.S. General Bernard Rogers. The meeting could help eliminate distrust between the military leaders of the two alliances, the Soviet marshal said.

Kulikov also noted that the Soviet Armed Forces supported the "restructuring" drive of Mikhail Gorbachev, in view of the fact that not only civilian, but military issues were involved.

SOKOLOV ATTENDS FUNERAL OF ARMY GENERAL GETMAN

LD112040 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 11 Apr 87

[Text] Today the Fighting men of the Soviet Armed Forces and the working people of the capital bade farewell to Hero of the Soviet Union, Army General Andrey Lavrentyevich Getman. The Red Banner Hall of the Central House of the Soviet Army named after Frunze, where the coffin had been placed, was decked in mourning. Around the dais were many wreaths.

In the guard of honor was Marshal of the Soviet Union Sokolov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and USSR minister of defense, together with deputy defense ministers and military leaders of the USSR. Taking leave of Army Gen Getman were the soldiers of the capital's garrrison, students of the military academies, and the working people of Moscow. A funeral meeting was held at Novodemichye Cemetery, where Getman was buried.

KOLDUNOV LAUDS AIR DEFENSE FORCES COMBAT ROLE

LD121721 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1045 GMT 12 Apr 87

["Talk" On the occasion of Air Defense Forces day by Chief Marshal of Aviation Aleksandr Ivanovich Koldunov, commander-in-chief of Air Defense Forces, USSR deputy defense minister, and twice hero of the Soviet Union; date not given -- live or recorded]

[Text] Dear comrades, this year Air Defense Forces' Day is being observed at a time notable for its spirit of revolutionary transformation and the creative work of Soviet people. The struggle to fulfill the historic decisions of the 27th congress and the January plenum of the party Central Committee is being waged on a broad front. The footsteps of restructuring are distinctly to be heard at the present time in all sectors of our society's life. The Central Committee appeal and the CPSU Central Committee decision on preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution have given the Soviet people a fresh burst of energy and enthusiasm.

The air defense servicemen ardently and wholeheartedly support the party's strategic course and are raising their responsibility for the reliable defense of the October revolutionary cause. The thoughts and sentiments of the defenders of the air borders are turned toward their own Communist Party, the leading force of Soviet society. Under its tested leadership the Air Defense Forces have traveled a long and glorious path from the first subunits set up on the directions of the great Lenin to the present-day branch of the Soviet Armed Forces.

Its personnel displayed a high consciousness of revolutionary duty on all the civil war fronts. Air defense formations and units bore their combat banners with dignity and honor through the severe trials of the Great Patriotic War. In close interaction with other branches of the armed forces they foiled the sinister plans of the enemy to destroy our cities and vitally important installations by air strikes. On the approaches to Moscow and Leningrad alone about 3,000 aircraft belonging to crack units of the fascist air force were shot down. Great examples of courage, heroism, selfless bravery, and military skill were displayed by our fighter pilots in aerial fighting.

The page of honor of the first heroes of the Soviet Union was opened by the names of Captain Titenkov, Lieutenant Fraptsov, Kalabushkin, Zhukov, Zdorovtsev, Kharitonov, Katrich, Kovalev, Junior Lieutenant Talalikhin, and many others. Great meritorious services for the fatherland have been performed by our glorious ack-ack gunners, engineers, technicians, observers, communication specialists, searchlight operators, and wonderful Soviet women. More than 80,000 servicemen of the Air Defense Forces have been awarded orders and medals, and 92 have received the top distinction of the title of Hero of the Soviet Union. Our remembrance of the heroes, all those who defended the liberty and independence of the homeland and gave their lives to save the world from the facist scourge, is sacred. They will continue in the future too to be a vivid example of selfless performance of one's serviceman's duty.

The victory of the Soviet people and its armed forces in the Great Fatherland War was an historic frontier in the destiny of the whole of mankind. Socialism is developing and getting stronger as a world system.

The reactionary circles of imperialism, however, did not learn the proper lessons from World War II and have not given up the policy of social revenge-seeking and crusades. Through the fault of militarist forces, the international situation continues to remain complex and tense. There is no end to the military conflicts in different parts of the world. The arms race is being pushed ahead and there is a build-up of the strategic offensive potential of the United States and its NATO allies. Third-generation nuclear weapons are being created [sozdayetsya], and space strike complexes are being developed [razrabatyvayutsya]. The U.S. strategic air force is being equipped with fresh means for air attack.

The Communist Party and the Soviet state are doing everything they can to halt a dangerous development of events. All our country's political authority and all its international influence have been turned to the struggle for peace. Life in conditions of security, independence, and progress can and must be ensured for all people.

At the end of February, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, announced a fresh, major initiative on the elimination of medium-range missiles in Europe. This is yet another step toward a nuclear-free world. However, as long as there is a threat from the aggressive forces the CPSU and the Soviet State will do everything necessary to keep the defensive power of the country and the countries of the socialist community at a proper level. The appeal to the people by the Communist Party Central Committee says quite definitely that Soviet people may rest assured that we shall never permit military superiority for imperialism under any conditions whatsoever.

In the system of ensuring the country's security an important role is played by the Air Defense Forces. Thanks to the constant concern of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and the brains and talent of our scientists, designers, engineers, and workers in the defense industry there has been an immeasurable increase in the combat potential of the Air Defense Forces. Not only has there been a rise in the level of technical equipment of the forces, but also there has been a considerable development of our people -- the military cadres. They are tirelessly mastering to day's military equipment and weapons and raising the level of their combat training, moral and political tempering, organization, and discipline. Like everywhere else in the country, active work is under way in units and subunits to fulfill the decisions of the 27th party congress, the Central Committee January Plenum and the decision of the CPSU Central Committee on preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Restructuring is directed at stepping up party influence in all spheres of life in military collectives and raising the quality of the learning process and the education of personnel. Restructuring is being implemented in the style and methods of management. Many commanders and chiefs have become closer to their subordinates. Great consideration is being given to the potential of the human factor in the tackling of standing problems. Carrying out the requirements of the USSR Defense Minister, commanders, political organs, and staffs are acting with increased responsibility and are raising and improving the combat readiness, organization, and discipline of personnel. Attention is being focused on questions of accelerating and intensifying combat training and improving the quality of training for all servicemen. Indulgence and oversimplification are being resolutely eliminated. Formalism in the training and education of people is being eradicated, and front-ranking experience is being introduced.

Mass socialist competition is now under way in formations and units under the motto, We shall fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress and shall by our selfless toil under arms mark the 70th anniversary of the great October Revolution.

Interaction with other branches of the armed forces is deepening and getting stronger, as is the combat alliance with the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries. As they celebrate their festive day our personnel see it as their duty to the people to continue vigilantly to guard the fatherland's air borders and to justify by their specific actions the high trust of the Communist Party. We express our sincere gratitude to all the working people, party and local soviet bodies, scientists, designers, DOSAAF organizations, and the creative unions for their concern and the great attention they give the defenders of the air frontiers. On this festive day we send combat greetings and warm congratulations to the glorious veterans of the Air Defense Forces, the participants of the Great Patriotic War, and all servicemen on the reserve or in retirement. I wish you, comrades, good health and fresh success in propagandizing combat traditions and in the military and patriotic education of the young generation.

This year our day coincides with Cosmonauts Day. We send our brotherly greetings and congratulate the courageous conquerors of outer space. We wish them fresh triumphs for the sake of the greatness and prosperity of our homeland.

Dear comrades, I cordially congratulate you, the men of the Army and Navy, and everyone who is performing alert duty in the Air Defense Forces on your festive day. I wish you new wonderful accomplishments under the wise leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. [video shows Koldunov in dress uniform in medium shot addressing camera]

Deputy Chief on Improvements

LD121248 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0815 GMT 12 Apr 87

[Interview with Col Gen Yevgeniy Sergeyevich Yurasov, first deputy commander-in-chief of the Air Defense Forces, by editor Yuliy Semenov, in the "Time, Events, People" program, on the occasion of Air Defense Force's Day; time and place not given -- recorded]

[Semenov] Yevgeniy Sergeyevich, I think the first question perhaps is this. How would you briefly characterize the role and place of the Air Defense Forces in ensuring the country's defense capability?

[Yurasov] In the past 10 years the role of the Air Defense Forces within the system of ensuring the country's defense capability has been continuously growing, and their tasks have been getting larger in scale and more responsible. This has been brought about primarily by the fact that in their striving to achieve advantages in the military sphere aggressive imperialist circles have been intensively building up their strategic offensive forces, continuing to deploy medium-range missiles in a number of countries in Western Europe and feverishly pushing ahead the launching of the notorious SDI systems into space orbit. The Air Defense Forces, which perform complex and responsible tasks in guarding the homeland's air borders, are entrusted with particular responsibility for foiling possible aggression by the imperialists.

[Semenov] How could the level of technical equipment of the present day Air Defense Forces be characterized?

[Yurasov] The CPSU Central Committee and the Soviet Government show constant concern for the development and improvement of the Air Defense Forces. The latter have been provided with the most modern equipment, which has been developed on the basis of the latest scientific achievements. It comprises automated control systems based on high-performance electronic computers, multichannel ack-ack missile complexes protected against interference, interceptor fighter aircraft, and superb radar and communications facilities.

[Semenov] But of course this complex equipment makes very high demands on personnel. I am asking you about this because I am aware that the idea is gaining ground in Western literature that modern military equipment is to a considerable extent taking the place of human beings. Apparently this is not so.

[Yurasov] Of course it is not so. The complex armaments of the Air Defense Forces and the increase in their automation are considerably enhancing the human role.

Our servicemen are sacredly guarding and redoubling the glorious traditions of the frontline heroes. There are frequent manifestations of heroism, courage, determination and steadfastness during alert duty, exercises and action in complex situations. Many officers and men have received distinguished state awards for this. The title of Hero of the Soviet Union was conferred on Col Zhukov, who at risk to his life was able to land what was to all intents and purposes an uncontrollable interceptor fighter aircraft, and the flyer, Lieutenant Colonel Levchenko, whose life is a vivid example of service to one's people and to the ideals of socialism.

The Order of the Red Banner was conferred on Captain Polyakov. The Order of the Red Star was conferred posthumously on Junior Sergeant Musin. Many other people too received awards.

[Semenov] What could you say about the development of socialist competition, particularly in conditions of the preparations for the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution?

[Yurasov] In 1986 one out of three servicemen in the Air Defense Forces received an excellent rating for training. Over 90 percent became first-class specialists. The servicemen of the Putilovsko-Kirovskiy Order of Lenin Ack-Ack Missile Guards Regiment of the Air Defense Forces, which initiated the socialist competition in the year of the 27th CPSU Congress, successfully fulfilled their socialist pledges. This year socialist competition has become widespread among the Air Defense Forces as in other branches of the armed forces under the motto: We shall fulfill the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress by our selfless toil under arms and we shall mark the 70th anniversary of the Great October. This competition was initiated by the men of the thrice-order-bearing ack-ack missile guards regiment that is commanded by Guards Lieutenant Sachkov. The call of the guardsmen to raise yet higher the level of combat training, steadfastly master combat equipment and weapons and strengthen discipline and organization has received the backing of all the defenders of the homeland's sky.

Standing in a united combat formation with the air defense servicemen are the fraternal armies of the socialist community countries. They are vigilantly guarding over the gains of socialism.